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ABSTRACT

A selection of the ideas presented at the 1982 TESOL convention is presented. The volume is divided into four sections: (1) Policy and Planning, (2) Challenging Assumptions, (3) Conditions for Learning, and (4) In--or out of--the Classroom. Part I provides five perspectives on varieties of English, the relationship between English and other national languages, and the governmental and institutional action required to implement language policy. Part II is comprised of six papers that challenge basic assumptions held by language teachers and researchers, while providing other assumptions to be challenged in turn. The third part consists of five papers that examine the nature of language learning, learners' characteristics, supportive environment, and differences between first and second language patterns of interaction. The final section contains 10 papers dealing with the organization of the learning experience at the level of program/curriculum planning, classroom management, and materials development. (Author/AMH)

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ON TESOL '82

PACIFIC PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

Edited by

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ON TESOL '82

PACIFIC PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

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Introduction

Each spring TESOL holds its annual convention. For an intense week three to five thousand individuals — teachers, researchers, policy makers, administrators, linguists, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, test developers, authors, and publishers — gather from around the world to exchange ideas on the learning and teaching of English to speakers of other languages. In 1982 the meeting place was Honolulu, Hawaii.

Atmosphere is important when one is seeking personal and professional renewal, and TESOL '82 will be remembered as a convention at which the atmosphere was a delight — sun, sea, sand, a lush mountain backdrop and perfect air conditioning provided by soft Pacific breezes, combined with a warm welcome from the island's residents, TESOLers and non-TESOLers alike. The week unfolded with a pleasantly shifting kaleidoscope of papers and demonstrations, sailing and swimming, workshops, colloquia and exhibits, parties and business meetings, jogging, birdwatching, sunbathing, island-hopping, and shop-talking.

All TESOL conventions are remarkable for the diversity of interests reflected in the daily schedule, and TESOL '82 was no exception. Given the location, however, the challenges and achievements of English language teaching in the Pacific were highlighted — "English for Pacific purposes" as one of our British colleagues was heard to remark when he learned of our program plans. This focus is reflected in this volume and accounts for its title.

On TESOL '82: Pacific Perspectives on Language Learning and Teaching provides a selection of the ideas presented at the gathering. The wide ranging topics have been grouped into four sections, each reflecting a major area of current interest. Part one, *Policy and Planning*, provides five perspectives on issues such as the variety of English most appropriately taught in particular settings, the relationship between English and other national languages, and the governmental and institutional action required to implement language policy. The second section, *Challenging Assumptions*, is comprised of six papers which do just that: challenge basic assumptions which are held by language teachers and researchers while at the same time providing assumptions of their own for professionals to challenge. *Conditions for Learning* consists of five papers which examine the nature of language learning, characteristics of different language learners, supportive environment for language development and the differences which exist between first and second language patterns of interaction. *In — or Out of — the Classroom* completes the selection with ten papers which deal with the major preoccupations of most of us involved in TESOL, that is, the organization of the learning experience, whether at the level of program/curriculum planning, of classroom management, or of materials development.

This collection cannot, of course, recreate the atmosphere referred to above. Perhaps, however, it will serve other purposes. For those who attended the convention, it may provide at least a partial answer to Miss Bates' query, which prefaced the abstracts in the TESOL '82 *Convention Program*, "How shall we ever recollect half the dishes for grandmama?" (Jane Austen, *Emma*). And, for those who did not attend, it offers, what we hope is a fair sampling of TESOL '82. Maholo, Hawaii.

Mark A. Clarke
Jean Handscombe

Denver and Toronto
December 1982

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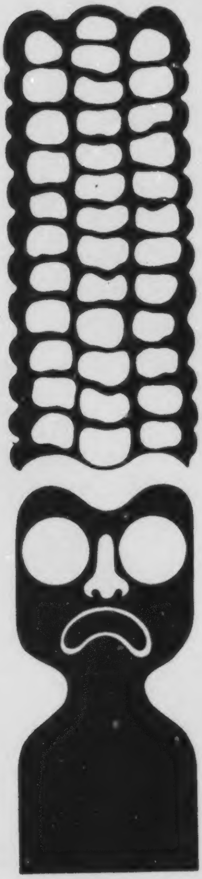
I. POLICY AND PLANNING



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Teachers of—What?
A Global Look at the 'E' of TESOL

Peter Strevens

Bell Educational Trust
Cambridge

The particular area of interest addressed in this paper concerns not teaching, not learning, not theory, not methodology, but the 'E' in TESOL: that is to say, I wish to speak not about *who* we teach, nor about *how* we teach it, but about *what* we teach: about ***English***, the language, which is the 'E' in TESOL.

There have been changes in English, looked at globally, on a vast scale; as a result of these changes in the 'E' of TESOL there are also big changes in the 'SOL' we teach—in the composition of our students, in other words—and in turn this means changes for *us*, the 'T' in TESOL.

In approaching this theme in the friendly, multilingual environment of the Hawaiian Islands the paper will look first at the enormous spread and diversity of English, and suggest that in Hawaii and in the Pacific area generally we can see a microcosm of what has taken place, worldwide, in the past. Next the question will be asked, why English, and not some other language? Then the paper will touch on the problem of mutual intelligibility among the very large number of different Englishes that now exist around the world, and about the way teachers of EFL actually contribute to maintain the unity of English even within this diversity. Lastly the existence of a whole range of new circumstances will be suggested, that may well cause TESOL teachers to revise some of their cherished assumptions.

The 'friendly environment of Hawaii' provides Britishers with many reasons for feeling at home in these Islands. First, the State flag of Hawaii contains the British flag. It is not widely known that Hawaii—or rather, the Sandwich Islands, as they were originally named—once belonged to the British crown. The process began at the urgent request of the King of Hawaii, the great Kamehameha I, who was extremely anxious to avoid being the victim of the colonial ambitions of the French on the one hand and the Americans and the Russians on the other. The French, who had recently annexed Tahiti, were motivated in these ambitions partly by the search for trade and territory. But they were also impelled in part by the almost clandestine struggle being waged right across the Pacific between Roman Catholic missionaries, backed by Spain and France, and Protestant missionaries from New England. And in the background was Tsarist Russia, expanding rapidly into the Pacific in a search for furs and whales and timber. Russia, too, at one time hoped to acquire at least some of the Hawaiian Islands, in addition to their possessions in Alaska and Northern California. Indeed, in down-town Honolulu the visitor may encounter a Fort Street. The fort it commemorates was built by the Russian Trading Company in 1816, before the threat was recognized and the Russians were expelled.

Colonial expansion as an influence on the spread of English will be touched upon in later paragraphs. Here we are simply pointing out that 150 years ago these Islands were at the centre of super-power rivalries and politics, with inevitable consequences for the linguistic map of the Pacific. As a prime example of what was going on, we may consider Tahiti in the year 1800. Tahiti was claimed as a possession simultaneously by Britain, France, Spain and the Government of New South Wales.

There are two further reasons, in addition to the presence of our national flag within the Hawaiian flag, why British people feel sympathetically towards Hawaii. One of these concerns the Hawaiian King Liholiho (technically Kamehameha II, and son of the great Kamehameha I).

The famous English explorer, Capt. Vancouver, visiting the Islands for the third time in 1794 promised to supply King Kamehameha I with a sailing warship, in exchange for which promise the grateful King spontaneously presented the Big Island, Hawaii, to Britain. Before the explorer's present was delivered, however, the old King died, in 1819. Indeed, it was not until 1822, twenty-eight years after Vancouver's original offer, that the vessel, a six-gun schooner called *Prince Regent*, built in Sydney, was delivered to the new king. He reacted even more generously than his father had done, and forthwith insisted on placing *all* the Islands under the protection of the British King George IV.

Now, the following year King Liholiho, being much given to sea travel around his own Hawaiian kingdom, decided to visit his brother monarch George IV in England, accompanied by his queen Kamamalu. The royal party reached England in 1824, after a long, hard voyage; but alas, before they could be presented to King George, first the Hawaiian queen and then the king, Liholiho, died—of measles, a very fashionable disease at the time. These lugubrious facts serve simply to stress another of the surprising historical links between Hawaii and Britain.

The third reason why the British have a feeling for Hawaii is that the Islands were first discovered, as far as Europeans are concerned, by a great English national hero, the explorer and navigator, Capt. James Cook. Indeed, Capt. Cook not only discovered the Islands early in the year 1778 but was actually killed here a year later, at Kealakakua Bay on the Kona coast of Hawaii. Furthermore, Capt. Cook named the Islands which he discovered the Sandwich Islands—not after the three-decker Aloha teriyake club Sandwich which is doubtless the staple food of modern Hawaii, but after the head of the British Navy, Admiral the Earl of Sandwich.

Coming back to the questions of language, it is worth remembering that in the Pacific at various times, apart from English several European and Asian languages have overlain the indigenous Melanesian and Polynesian languages: French (still dominant in Tahiti), Spanish (in Easter Island today, but dominant for centuries in the Philippines), German (in New Guinea and Samoa, but disappearing after 1918), Portuguese (in Macao), Chinese, Japanese, Tamil and Arabic: the list is a long one.

If historical events had turned out differently the Hawaiian Islands might today have a quite different mixture of languages. The Islands might just conceivably have retained their independence, in which case the Hawaiian language would be as dominant here as Tongan is in Tonga. Or they might have become a French possession, like Tahiti, which is largely French-speaking. Or they might have been annexed by Russia, in which case Russian would quite certainly have been imposed as the official language. Or they might have become a British colony, so that British English would have been dominant. But in fact they became part of the United States, and American English is the official and principal language, though within a multilingual society.

The example of Hawaii, then, and the wider historical perspective of the Pacific as a whole, can serve as a microcosm of one mechanism for the spread of European languages across the world; it illustrates the workings of one set of factors that have determined the course of expansion of English. However, these are not the only factors that have been at work.

This is the point in the argument where we might appropriately address the question: why English? Why is it English that currently holds the pre-eminent position on the league table of international languages? The historical facts of the development of the English language are, of course, part of the answer.

English, as the language we know today, really only came into existence around 1350—in other words, after it had absorbed the impact of Norman French. (To say this is to reject Anglo-Saxon as being 'English' in the modern sense.) And English was confined to England—almost nobody spoke it anywhere else, not even in Wales or Scotland or Ireland—until around the year 1600. It was first spread around the globe, as were Portuguese and Spanish, by explorers and traders and colonisers. Because of the success of these buccaneers, to say nothing of the English habit of sending convicts to new penal colonies overseas rather than keeping them in prisons in England, there began to grow up numbers of enclaves, small but growing and proliferating communities of English-speakers living abroad.

Now, these communities developed in two different ways, depending on the political and demographic facts. Where the English-speakers were overwhelmingly in the majority, as in the New England colonies, in Australia and New Zealand, eventually in Canada, there the populations became increasingly *independent*, politically, socially and linguistically. It was still English that they spoke, but it was English with enough differences for them to consolidate their new identities and feel proud of *not* being Englishmen and Englishwomen.

But where the English-speakers were overwhelmingly in the minority, colonial status emerged: here (as in Nigeria, Hong Hong, Uganda, Singapore) English-speakers remained 'Englishmen living abroad', as it were, and proud of it; and they began to teach English to the élite of the local population through the school system, but as an addition to the local languages, not replacing them. And finally, in the past twenty-five years, the former colonies, becoming independent states, found that because English had become the vehicle, the carrier, for 'econo-technics' and for a number of other activities we shall refer to in a moment, they needed to continue to learn and teach English, not as part of their own culture, not in deference to cultural links with Britain or America, but for their own essential interests.

English was spread, then, in its early days, through exploration, trade, conquest and colonisation. But if that sequence were a sufficient cause by itself, why are we not all speaking and teaching Portuguese as a foreign language? Or Spanish? Or Arabic? These languages, too, were spread across the world in that way, and even earlier than English; yet their coverage today, as far as non-native speakers go, is much less than English.

The answer to the question: why English? must depend in part on inherent characteristics of English as a language. English is inherently a *borrowing* language, an *Anglicising* language, a *neologising* language. In addition, English is the vehicle for science, technology, the media industries and a number of other trends and activities—and perhaps one reason why this has come about is because of this propensity for borrowing and incorporating in English, which does not exist in all other languages. (Consider French, for example, which strenuously resists foreign incursions.)

These processes, along with the historical events we have spoken of, produced the immense range and variety of Englishes which today we observe around the world.

Here we must notice an extraordinary fact. Looking at the global position of English today it appears that the total number of English-users, at around 700 millions, is far greater than the total populations of the so-called English-speaking countries like the United States, Britain, Australia and New Zealand, and Anglophone Canada. This is the crucial change which will inexorably impose consequences upon us all. Probably non-native users of English out-number the mother tongue speakers by 400 million to 300 million. So English is used far more widely than simply as the national language of the countries mentioned above.

In particular, English is used in virtually every country on earth, as the vehicle for some or all of the following trends or activities: for science and technology, especially the information sciences, computer technology, and nuclear physics; for the media industries of film, TV, radio, newspapers and magazines; for the global entertainment and pop music industries; for international diplomacy, aid and administration; for international tourism; for marketing and advertising, especially by the multinational corporations; and, not least, for a new and brilliant literature written in English by non-native speakers of English. So English is used not just within the confines of countries where it is the mother tongue—as Japanese is used within Japan, or Portugese within Portugal and Brazil, or Spanish within Spain and Latin-America—but world-wide, for instrumental purposes; for a reason; as a tool; to do a job; for literary creativity; to understand or participate in one of these English-using activities.

All this is widely know already: though the rate of expansion of English for these activities has been so great that we can be taken by surprise when we stop and contemplate the scale of English use. The point at issue, however, is that so many hundreds of millions of users of English, more than half of them having learned it as a foreign or second language, inevitably produce variations in their English.

And what of the consequences for teaching and learning English—for TESOL, in fact? Already English is taught almost overwhelmingly, as far as numbers are concerned, by non-native speakers. English is the mother tongue, the L1, of only a minority of EFL teachers throughout the world. It is thus quite unrealistic to propose a native speaker model for all foreign learners, even if such a thing were desirable. The requirement today is to recognize and accommodate to the large number of different Englishes that now exist around the world.

There are two distinct types of 'Englishes': first, 'Indian English', 'West African English', 'Hong Kong English', and all the localised forms of English that have become accepted by the educated community of English-users in countries where English is a *second* language. These are now fully established and institutionalised, whether purists like it or not. Secondly, a group of less well-identified versions of English: those defined by the average performance achieved by educated learners of English in EFL countries: Frenchman's English, (or Canadian Français's English), Germans' English, Italians' English, and so forth, referring in each case to the English of those who have completed the learning process up to the standard of educated users. One aspect of these multiple Englishes which we need to confront is that many of them—or at least many users of them—are not mutually intelligible. To put it another way, as EFL teachers the learners we are turning out are not all capable of understanding all other learners.

Is this a tragedy? Does it matter that a Japanese electronics engineer, for example, cannot understand the English of a Saudi Arabian senior civil servant; and that neither of them can understand the English of a Nigerian agricultural officer or of a woman senior nursing officer from Pakistan?

The short answer is No. But of course there are certain qualifications to be made. The apparent lack of intelligibility is neither as severe, nor as irremediable, as it seems at first. To begin with, if these individuals remain in contact with each other for even a few hours or days, they quickly improve their understanding of each other's English. To offer anecdotal evidence, in the five Schools of English as a foreign language operated by the Bell Educational Trust in Britain, such encounters as these, between speakers of mutually *un*intelligible forms of English, regularly occur in the first few days of a course; yet within a very short time, even before any discernible change has occurred in the English produced by the individual student, mutual comprehension quickly improves. So within the phenomenon of reputed unintelligibility there is a proportion of difficulty that quickly evaporates.

The second qualification to be made concerns the different mixture, as between one nationality group and another, of the so-called 'four basic skills' of language. To take two extreme yet common examples, these same schools frequently receive students from Arabic-speaking countries and students from Japan, both apparently at the same level of attainment, let us say lower intermediate. The Arabic speakers have been educated largely in Koranic schools, where great emphasis is placed on the teacher reading aloud and the learner listening, then the class repeating aloud in unison. These students are commonly quite fluent, though inaccurate in spoken English, but are nearly illiterate as far as the written language goes. The Japanese students, by contrast, have been educated to place a high value on the written language, and on writing as a technique and an art-form, but with little attention to speaking. Consequently they often arrive in our Schools able to read quite well, to write fairly well, though inaccurately, but being virtually speechless. The lack of mutual intelligibility between Arabic-speaking and Japanese students when they first encounter each other has to do with incomplete learning of the range of skills, but not with different kinds of English in the sense I am considering.

The third reservation concerns who it is that we expect our students to be mutually intelligible *with*. And here we need to clear up a legend, a myth: let us not think that it is normal, in *any* language, for *all* speakers of that language to be understood by, and to understand, *all* other speakers. It just is not true. It is not true of Chinese, for example; nor of Arabic; nor of Spanish; nor of Portuguese; and so forth. Total mutual intelligibility within a language community is a myth.

However, what *does* happen in all languages is that people *are* intelligible to, and understand, other members of their particular local speech community or sociolinguistic group.

And the fourth and final reservation is that people can learn quite quickly and easily to follow and understand a different accent. Not to *produce* a different pronunciation—that is extremely difficult and rare—but to learn to adjust, receptively, to a fresh accent. If we move into a different sociolinguistic group we will almost certainly adapt our language in the direction of mutual intelligibility within that group.

A last word about the enormous number of different Englishes that exist around the world. If one includes both 'native' and 'non-native' Englishes, their total is huge. There truly are thousands of dialect and accent differences, each set of which constitutes a badge of identity for *some* set of English-users.

Now, this question of dialect is most important, so we need to be clear of confusion. Let us look at a small number of examples of English dialects.

> I knowed it was him (Oklahoma)
> She never done nothing good for me (Cockney)
> Is this you away to the steamie? (Edinburgh Scottish)
> I seed it (Virginia)
> I seen it (Pennsylvania)
> I *is* seen it (Black English)
> If ever tha does owt fer nowt, allus do it fer thisen (Yorkshire)

Each of those examples contains at least one item of grammar, and in one or two cases an item of vocabulary, different from what we would actually teach to our students. Within a particular local and restricted community each of these utterances is acceptable, and normal. There are an infinite number of other examples to be found: each one of us can bring hundreds of illustrations from our own experience, of local dialects, of different Englishes.

Then what of the contention, that there exists nevertheless a 'glue', a force of cohesion, within English, and that it is we teachers who supply it?

First let us ask whether we would actually teach any of the foregoing sentences? Would we actually teach *I knowed it was him . . . She never done nothing good for me . . . Is this you away to the steamie. . . . I seed it . . . I seen it . . . If ever tha does owt fer nowt, allus do it fer thisen . . .*? Surely the answer is No. So the English we teach differs in some ways, which we have not yet clarified, from the English in any of those sentences.

We should remember that each of the dialect examples has its own accent. It is only in the special academic circumstances of a lecture, or of language study, that we can concentrate on the grammar and vocabulary of a particular kind of English, to the exclusion of its pronunciation. These examples have illustrated certain syntactic and lexical features but have ignored all phonological features. In fact, these systematic variations of grammar and lexis are what we call *dialects*; systematic variations of phonological features are what we call *accents*.

And in reality *every* local dialect exists *only* in a pairing with its local accent. Cockney dialect *only* with Cockney accent; Black English dialect *only* occurs with Black English pronunciation; Singapore English dialect is *only* heard with Singapore accent; Yorkshire or Pennsylvania or Nigerian dialects of English are spoken *only* in the local accents. And conversely, they never switch over. Edinburgh dialect spoken with Californian accent is a joke! Nigerian dialect with Hong Kong accent just never happens. Local dialect and local accent *always* go together. (That is the chief cause of the confusion that sometimes arises between the terms *dialect* and *accent*: they normally go together as pairs, indissolubly linked.) But what about the English we teach? We agree that we do *not* teach local dialects. What dialect *do* we teach?

First, there is an amazing similarity, almost a total identity, in the English grammar taught by EFL teachers all round the world. If one analyzes the grammar of school textbooks, or of university course-books, or of ESP materials, they are overwhelmingly the same, whether in English-mother-tongue countries or in English as a foreign language or English as a second language countries. English as taught in TESOL is almost totally invariant in its grammar. There are some differences in vocabulary, which reflect either the well-known differences between the American and British branches of the English family tree, or a few local terms and expressions accepted by the local community of educated people. In short, there is a single dialect of English that is used worldwide for the teaching of English. And that dialect is accepted by all educated users of English everywhere.

But what about pronunciation? Here there is *no* uniformity. Teachers of English teach the same grammar everywhere, ***but they teach their own accent***, and since in any given place most of the teachers are from that area, the same grammar is taught but in the local or regional accent; in another area what gets taught is the same grammar but a different accent; and so forth.

So we now have a different state of affairs from that which we observed with local dialects. Local dialects have only one possible accent: the local accent: they exist *only* in these linked pairs. But the global dialect used in TESOL—the E in TESOL, if you like—exists with any and every accent.

If you believe it to be true, as I do, with a lifetime of confirmation from practical experience, that it is relatively simple to learn to follow a different pronunciation—as long as the dialect (the grammar and core vocabulary) stay the same—then you will see the general line of this argument. For all the immense diversity of English, there is a unity of grammatical usage, and very largely of vocabulary usage, throughout the world of TESOL and of educated English-users. Further, it tends to be the educated English-users who have needs for wider intelligibility, taking them beyond the confines of their own community with its local pairing of dialect plus accent. When these educated users encounter other educated users of English they find they share the same dialect, and that their differences lie almost wholly in having to adjust to following an unaccustomed accent—which is within the easy, untutored accomplishment of anybody.

Incidentally, I have so far refrained from using the label 'Standard English', but for most applied linguists that is the term used for this single non-localised dialect, the only one not paired to a particular accent but capable of being spoken with *any* accent.

One could take the argument one stage further and consider the small number of accents that emerge—General American in the United States, RP in Britain, General Australian, and so on,—which are heard *only* with Standard English, and never with a local dialect. That would enable one to define 'Educated American English' as 'Standard English dialect plus General American accent', or 'BBC English' as 'Standard English dialect plus RP accent'. But we shall not pursue that issue. Instead, we should notice that in order to concentrate on the fundamental issue of how we all teach the same dialect of English but with a great range of different pronunciations, one other major differentiation between the various Englishes has been omitted in the argument so far. The fact is that in most societies where a localised non-native form of English has emerged, it is usually spoken with the discourse features, the pragmatics, the rhetoric, the communicative patterns of the local culture. A language is, after all, much more than just syntax, lexicon and phonology; it is also a great array of culturally-condition discoursal rules, local usages and expressions, the whole being organised into the varieties which we have been looking at in respect of our 'E' in TESOL, the language, English.

We come now to consequences and conclusions. First, the native speakers of English it seems to me, really must accept the position of being in the minority of English-users. Not only that; we must be prepared, increasingly, to encounter, and not to be censorious about, fluent and grammatical English in which nevertheless we can discern locally-identifiable features of pronunciation, discourse rules and special usages.

There is one more consequence of the new and reducing minority position of native speakers of English; we must recognize how easy it is to give an impression of linguistic imperialism or colonialism. If we impose native-speaker norms in non-native speaker EFL situations, whether deliberately or through sheer insensitivity, we run the risk of antagonising not only our fellow-professionals but also their students, the very people we ought to be helping.

And what of our great TESOL organization? With the greatest respect, it seems to me that in the coming years TESOL and its British-based counterpart, IATEFL, will have to come to terms with the fact that speakers of non-native varieties of English are now a power in the EFL world; they *must* be listened to. We should be aware, too, that there have already been preliminary consultations among certain EFL teachers abroad over the possibility of setting up their own alternative to TESOL, simply because many of them already feel that their professional interests— and even more their personal identities as non-native speakers of English— are too often ignored or looked down on by the native-speaking EFL teachers.

And what of the non-native speakers themselves? They for their part must recognise that this is a two way problem: their new position of statistical dominance carries new responsibilities, too. The teachers among them, in exchange for receiving greater recognition and acceptance of localised forms of English, will have to become more closely familiar with and aware of the sociolinguistic aspects of their EFL teaching, so that they can distinguish between those local features which are educationally acceptable, and those which, even though they may be entirely appropriate in local colloquial usage, are perhaps not suitable for classroom teaching—or only if they are taught together with the restrictions on their use which might apply in non-local circumstances.

These are exciting times in EFL. In the coming months and years we shall be set alight, professionally speaking, a dozen times or more. As EFL teachers concentrate on their usual pre-occupation with learning, teaching and methodology, I hope we shall remember and take to heart these changes in that central element of our working lives, global English, the 'E' in TESOL.

Pidgin English: Hawaii's Unique Resource

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Introduction

In this paper, I sketch briefly the origins of Hawaii Creole English (HCE) or Pidgin English, as it is known in Hawaii. This involves some speculation on what the first contact language, or pidgin, might have been during the early contacts between the Hawaiians and the Europeans. I trace the growth and development of Hawaiian Maritime Pidgin (HMP), and relate it to such institutions in Hawaiian society as business, education, and government. We see how the plantation economy affected HMP, changing it to something called Plantation Pidgin, which, in turn, served as one of the linguistic foundations for HCE. The paper concludes with an examination of the factors which aided in the growth and maintenance of HCE.

Hawaiian Maritime Pidgin

The first recorded contact of Hawaiians and Europeans occurred in 1778, when the British explorer, James Cook, sailed north from Tahiti and arrived in the islands. There is no record of other outsiders making contact with Hawaii for six years after Cook's ships left. In 1784, two British captains, Portlock and Dixon, landed, and were the first of the hundreds of traders to stop in Hawaii between 1784 and 1820. Initially, fur trading between the northwest coast of America and China was the main reason for stopping in Hawaii. The ships needed to take on additional fuel and water, and such fresh provisions as were available.

Around 1805, sandalwood trade with China began and initiated a different type of contact between the foreigners and the Hawaiians. Since the trading originated in Hawaii, the traders developed greater contacts with the Hawaiians than generally occurred when they stopped for fuel and provisions. Of interest is how these fur traders and later the sandalwood traders communicated with the Hawaiians. Unfortunately, what few written accounts made during this period which are available fail to address this issue. We can, however, speculate, using our knowledge of what has happened in similar situations.

If there is neither the time or the resources to learn the language of the host culture, a pidgin develops, which serves as a contact language, and is not usually the native language of any of its speakers. As DeCamp (1971, 15) points out, "It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages. It is characterized by a limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features." Pidgins are found throughout the world, and generally serve as a vehicle to aid communication in limited circumstances, often, as DeCamp notes, in business affairs. In fact, it is believed that the word *pidgin* is a corruption by the Chinese for the English word *business*. (See Appendix A for some examples of sentences used by Japanese immigrants to Hawaii.)

There are two points of view about when the first pidgin appeared in the Hawaiian Islands. Reinecke (1969) claims that a pidgin did not develop until the mid-1800s. Bickerton (e.g., 1976) believes that it was not until late in the 19th century that a true pidgin developed.

I claim that a pidgin developed in Hawaii in the late 1700s to help the Hawaiians and the fur and sandalwood traders conduct their business. I refer to it as Hawaiian Maritime Pidgin for a number of reasons. The term Hawaiian indicates that it was used in the Hawaiian Islands and because it was probably based on the Hawaiian language—a Hawaiian-based pidgin. Most of its structure and vocabulary probably came from Hawaiian. I use the word Maritime in referring to this early pidgin because it was undoubtedly influenced by the sailors who used it. We know from other sources (e.g., Hall 1966) that sailors in this period spoke a pidgin to communicate with each other when they did not share a common language. So they probably added from this sailor's pidgin to Hawaii's pidgin. It is important to bear in mind that no one spoke HMP as a first language, a characteristic of all pidgins.

Perhaps some of the differences over when a pidgin developed in Hawaii might be explained by the definition of a pidgin. Reinecke was writing in the 1930s, well before the field of pidgins and creoles was even recognized. There was little agreement among the few who were interested in such marginal languages as to what was being described, much less what the appropriate labels were. The differences with Bickerton over the origins of Hawaii's first pidgin are more theoretical in nature; a discussion would take us well beyond the objectives of this paper.

Contact with foreigners increased dramatically in 1819, with the arrival of the first whaling ships in Hawaii, at about the time rich sperm whaling grounds were discovered off the coast of Japan. Since Japanese ports were closed to foreigners, it was natural that the Hawaiian Islands became the main ports for the whaling ships working the region. The number of ships landing in the islands increased rapidly, as whaling grew. Its peak was between 1840 and 1860, when an average of 400 ships landed each year. It is reasonable to assume that linguistic communication was accomplished by the use of HMP, the same pidgin used in the fur and sandalwood trades.

Support for this position comes from Reinecke (1969)[1], who believes that a type of marginal speech of a transitional nature between English and Hawaiian developed about 1830 and 1840, as the whaling trade developed and the plantations began. He writes that Ella H. Paris, who was born and raised in Hawaii, told him that *hapa haole* or *half foreigner* was the most common means of communication between foreign residents and Hawaiians and practically the sole means between sailors and Hawaiians. The major difference between what Reinecke wrote in 1935 and what I now claim is that this pidgin began in the late 1700s, with the fur traders.

Hawaiian Plantation Pidgin

Reinecke uses the term Plantation Pidgin to refer to this language. Although there were a number of attempts at establishing sugar plantations in the 1820s and early 1830s, the first permanent sugar plantation in Hawaii was not founded until 1835, after which time a number were established. An important feature of these early plantations is the role which was played by the Chinese in setting up and operating the mills.

This is of interest to us because it is the first recorded instance of a non-European language group of any importance in sustained contact with Hawaiians and others away from the waterfront, the port areas and the sailing/trade related activities. Unfortunately, we have very little information on the activities of these first Chinese, and no information about their linguistic behavior. Perhaps these early Chinese used a variety of HMP and, when that wasn't enough, engaged interpreters. But I am not sure who, and how many, could have been bilingual in, say Cantonese and Hawaiian, or Punti and Hawaiian. So our best bet is that they used HMP, but a modified version of it. It was a modified version because, when used on the sugar plantations and in the mills, it was changed to suit its new functions and by the new ethnic group using it. Instead of being limited to contacts among non-Hawaiian sailors and merchants and Hawaiians for the restricted purposes of trading, whaling, and merry-making, its use was extended to a nonmaritime function—setting up and operating a sugar mill. And this was directed by a nonEuropean group. Based on this, I conclude that HMP, as used on the plantations in the late 1830s and 1840s, began to change.

This modified version of HMP probably served as the vehicle of communication for the first immigrant laborers, who were also Chinese, when they arrived in 1852 to work on the plantations. It is not unreasonable to assume that this group of Chinese, and subsequent Chinese immigrants during the 1850s, used a modified version of HMP to communicate with their fellow workers, who were Hawaiian. And we can assume that the

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[1] Reinecke (1969) is actually an edited version of a master of arts thesis written in 1935 at the University of Hawaii.

Hawaiians used it in talking to the Chinese. To a lesser extent, it was most likely used by their English-speaking bosses.

We can identify some crucial differences between the pidgin used on the plantations and the pidgin associated with whaling. The former was used only by people whose first languages were Hawaiian, Chinese, and English. In addition, the scope of their activities was different—whaling versus agriculture. The new pidgin was used in a more stable environment than the setting in which HMP was used. The speakers of HMP came and went each whaling season, but the speakers of the new variety remained constant, for at least five year periods, working on the plantations. Since, then, it was rather different, it deserves a new name—Hawaiian Plantation Pidgin (HPP).

I do not want to give the impression that as soon as the Chinese immigrants arrived and began to use HPP, HMP died out. That did not happen, since whaling remained viable until the 1870s; Maritime Pidgin was spoken until the need for it ceased. So, what we had in Hawaii in the 1800s to the 1870s were two varieties of a pidgin based on Hawaiian: Maritime Pidgin and Plantation Pidgin. Maritime Pidgin gradually died out, but only after it was no longer needed. It left a legacy, Plantation Pidgin, which, in its turn, would also die out over the years as its speakers—the immigrant workers—died. But Plantation Pidgin, too, would leave a legacy—the language which is widely-used today in Hawaii, which in Hawaii is called Pidgin.

But before we examine Pidgin, it is necessary to discuss the effects of the growth of the sugar industry. In 1865, three groups of Chinese workers arrived in Honolulu; by 1872, there were approximately 2,000 Chinese in Hawaii, the majority of them working on the plantations.

The first Japanese to arrive in the Islands to work on the plantations came in 1868. Twenty years later additional Japanese labor was brought to Hawaii. This importation of workers from Japan continued in the late 1880s until about 1907. By 1890, for example, there were about 10,000 males and 2,200 females.

In the meantime, another immigrant group, the Portuguese, had arrived to work on the plantations. By 1878, there were about 500 males and females; six years later, by 1884, there were more than 10,000. of whom nearly half were female. The Portuguese came in family units, with a provision in their contracts for free education for their children. When they discovered that this meant education in Hawaiian, they protested, claiming that Hawaiian was not a suitable language for their children. The first solution to this problem was for the Board of Education to charge the employers of the Portuguese, the plantation owners, the tuition to allow the Portuguese children to attend the English-medium schools. Under pressure from the plantation owners, however, the Board changed its policy and allowed the Portuguese children to attend the English-medium schools free of charge. Until that time, the Hawaiian-medium schools were free, and the English-medium schools charged tuition.

When the Hawaiians learned that there was a group of immigrants whose children attended the English-medium schools without paying tuition, they objected. The issue was resolved in 1888 by abolishing tuition for the English schools. This was the death sentence for the Hawaiian schools.

The plantation economy, then, brought into Hawaii large numbers of immigrants to work on the plantations. Apparently, Hawaiian was not the language to which the immigrants turned. English was well out of their grasp since they had relatively little contact with those whose first language was English. It is likely that the immigrants used HPP for communication with other immigrants and with Hawaiians.

But HPP was changing in response to the decline of status of the Hawaiian language and the increasing stature of English. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss this issue (see, for example, Day forthcoming). What is of concern to us here is that by the 1870s, just as the immigrant plantation workers were beginning to arrive in sizable numbers, English had become the dominant language of the Hawaiian Islands. It had, for example, replaced Hawaiian as the original language of government documents; and, as noted above, English was preferred as the language of instruction in public schools.

Further, English had begun to replace Hawaiian as the major donor language of HPP. That is, HPP, as used in Hawaii in the 1880s, 1890s, and early 1900s, gradually became more of an English-based pidgin than one based on Hawaiian. Its vocabulary and structure borrowed more heavily from English than from Hawaiian. This process did not happen overnight, of course; it was a slow, gradual change and, as I explain later, this drift towards English is still taking place.

In 1893, a group of foreigners, primarily businessmen, overthrew the Hawaiian government, then headed by Queen Liliuokalani. They expected the United States to annex the Islands immediately and, when this was not forthcoming, they established a republic and drew up a new constitution. This constitution contained a clause which had the effect of requiring voters to be able to read, write, and speak English. In 1898, the Republic of Hawaii was annexed by the United States. Hawaii's Organic Act of 1900, which served as the governing document of the Islands, directed legislators to do their business in English. The revolution was complete—not only had the Hawaiians lost their kingdom, they had lost their language.

Thus the political, economic, and cultural climate of the late 1880s and early 1900s facing the immigrant workers was vastly different from the one which faced the sailors and traders one hundred years earlier. But the immigrants had changed, too. There were mainly from Asia and planned to stay in the Islands for at least five years, and often stayed longer. Some of the Chinese workers brought wives and children or married Hawaiians and raised families. A few Japanese brought wives, while a few married Hawaiian women. More, though, sent to Japan for picture-book brides.

Regardless of where their wives came from, most of them raised families. A large number of the Portuguese immigrants brought their families with them, while some married Hawaiians.

Hawaii Creole English

The introduction of children by the immigrant workers on the plantations had major effects on the social fabric of Hawaii, including language. The linguistic choices facing a child of the plantation varied, depending on a number of factors. If, for example, the child's parents spoke the same first language, then the child would most likely speak its parents' language. But what if one of the parents were Chinese and the other Hawaiian? Would the children learn one? Two? But what about HPP? How would the parents of a mixed marriage communicate? If the child of a mixed marriage learned one of the parent's language, say Hawaiian, then how would she or he talk to the other parent, who spoke Chinese, for example?

In addition, how would the children talk to each other? We know that the workers on the plantations lived in various sections according to their backgrounds. There were, for example, Japanese camps or Portuguese camps where all the Japanese or the Portuguese lived. But we also know that plantation children associated with kids from the various different ethnic and racial groups.

The situation which I have outlined called for the use of a *lingua franca*, a common language. And since the common language of the older generation, of the immigrant workers, was HPP, it would seem likely that some of the plantation children acquired HPP as a first language, or as one of their first languages. Having HPP as a first language would have made communication a lot easier for these children, for then they could talk to virtually anyone, while fluency in one of the other languages—Portuguese, Hawaiian, the various Chinese languages, or Japanese—restricted communication. Thus it is highly likely that a number of plantation children learned HPP as a first language.

Learning a pidgin as a first language is a different process from learning a pidgin as a foreign or second language. Recall that adults who used pidgin—any pidgin, not just Maritime or Plantation Pidgin—already had a first language; recall also that a pidgin facilitates communication in a limited, restricted setting. A pidgin does not have to do all the things that a first language does. Since its functions are restricted, its form is also restricted or simplified. But when a pidgin is used as someone's first language, it is a different story. By definition, a first language can't be restricted; it can't be simple. So a pidgin learned as a first language is qualitatively different from a pidgin used as a foreign language in a limited set of circumstances. For this reason, since it is different, we call it by a different name—a creole.

DeCamp (1972:16) observes that the vocabulary and syntactic devices of a creole, unlike those of a pidgin, are the same as those of any native language: "large enough to meet all of the communication needs of its speakers." He says that a pidgin is so limited, both in its vocabulary and syntactic devices, that it is "suitable only for specialized and limited communication . . . [and is] therefore short lived." DeCamp claims that "the only way in which a pidgin may escape extinction is by evolving into a creole; i.e. the syntax and vocabulary are extended and it becomes the native language of a community."

The creole which developed in Hawaii in the late 19th century, which we will refer to as Hawaii Creole English (HCE), was formed not only from HPP, but also from English. In fact, English was probably the major donor language, since it has become the most prestigious language in Hawaii. HCE is thought of as an English-based creole—a creole whose major ancestoral language is English. Portuguese and Hawaiian also played a major role in its development. How much of an influence Japanese had is not certain. (See Appendix B for examples of HCE as it is currently being used.)

We began this discussion into how the pidgin that the plantation children spoke was different from the pidgin their parents spoke, to answer the question of what language these children would speak. Let me stress two points: The first is that not all plantation children learned HCE as a first or as one of their first languages. The second is that what I have described about language on the plantation is simplistic.

Let me now try to draw a more realistic, and necessarily more complex, picture. If plantation children learned HCE as their first language, and their parents spoke an immigrant language or Hawaiian and HPP, then how would they have learned HCE, and secondly, how would they have communicated with their parents? The first question is difficult to answer. One of the more interesting theories as to how creoles develop has been advanced by Bickerton (e.g., 1982), who claims that we are all born with a bioprogram to learn language. This innate capacity to learn language is generally modified or restricted by the language(s) a child hears around it. But in a pidgin situation, the innate linguistic universals are allowed to develop more freely, resulting in creole languages which around the world have many distinct similarities. This issue is much more complex than I have sketched here, but it should be enough to help us understand how HCE came into being.

Fortunately the second question—how did children who learned HCE as their first language speak to their parents who spoke either an immigrant language or Hawaiian and HPP—is easier to answer. At first glance the answer seems obvious—by using HCE. This is not really accurate, for a creole is not the same language as a pidgin. The parents spoke HPP, not HCE. I think that there was linguistic accommodation by both parents and children.

Most likely, the children simplified, modified their language—HCE—

when speaking to their parents. So, in effect, they would have been speaking a sort of pidginized creole to their parents. Their parents, in turn, modified their speech, using features of their children's creole in their pidgin, so they probably used a sort of creolized pidgin. As a result, there was a great deal of linguistic variation in the plantation speech community. The variety of the pidgin the adult immigrants spoke varied, depending on to whom they talked and their own language background. And the younger generation's creole also varied, depending on similar factors. Sato (1982), trying to account for the speech used on the plantations in this period, claims that plantation children often could understand but not speak their ancestral languages, so a kind of dual-lingualism arose in many plantation families, with the parents speaking the immigrant languages, and the children, HCE.

As time passed, the linguistic complexity deepened. After HCE had been around for a number of years, I suspect that its influence spread throughout the plantations, and modified HPP. It did this not only through the parents' speech, as I just described above, but by affecting the speech of newly-arriving immigrants. The new immigrants in the 1890s and early 1900s were faced with two new languages—a pidgin of the older generation (HPP) and a creole of the younger generation (HCE). It seems reasonable to claim that the pidgin which these newcomers learned was influenced by HCE. I submit that the distinction in the early 1900s between a pidgin and a creole was probably hard to make; and this distinction became even more blurred with the arrival in the early 1900s of Filipino immigrants, who learned HCE as a second or foreign language, or as a pidgin.

It is useful at this point to explore the role education played in the creolization of language in Hawaii. I mentioned above that the public schools had switched to English almost entirely by the late 19th century. It seems reasonable to suppose that immigrant children learned English at school, and thus there would have been little need for HCE.

Generally it is true that the introduction of mass education in the colonial language in a pidgin-creole community leads to the gradually withering away of the creole language. But in Hawaii, due to what Sato (forthcoming) calls the elitist, separatist language policies of the English-speaking oligarchy, the opposite happened—the public school system caused the creole to grow and become more widespread.

Even though English was the medium of instruction in the public schools, if we look beyond what was official and examine what actually happened in the classroom, we learn (e.g., Sato, forthcoming) that plantation children actually had relatively little contact with the English language. As Sato (forthcoming) points out, the classroom constituted an English as a second language setting, whose pupils were Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians, Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese. Most of the English-speaking children attended private schools and were not available either as friends or as language models in the classroom. Thus, HCE naturally came to serve as the main speech code for the plantation children, a speech code that became conventionalized as social networks crossed ethnic boundaries. As Sato claims, "In sum, English acquisition was, for the most part, a peripheral phenomenon in the language socialization of these children." (Sato, forthcoming, 14).

This tidy situation—in which the English-speaking elite sent their children to private schools while the masses sent theirs to public schools—became unwieldly by 1918 or so, since a sizable English-speaking middle class had sprung up which was not connected with the plantations. These people could not afford to send their children to private school and they objected to sending their children to school with HCE-speaking plantation or immigrant children.

The problem was solved in a recommendation from a team of federal investigators who had conducted a study of Hawaii's educational system in 1919: Children were to be grouped in different schools according to their proficiency in English (Sato, forthcoming). This recommendation was implemented in 1924, and was called the English Standard system. This new system brought relief to the English-speaking parents because it, in effect, segregated the English-speaking children from just about all the others, in particular the Japanese and the Filipinos; it further stratified Hawaii's society along ethnic lines by means of discrimination along ostensibly linguistic ones. Steuber (1965) points out that the English Standard system, during its 25-year life span, accommodated less than 10% of the school population, the overwhelming majority of whom were Caucasians.

One result of this segregationist school system was the development and maintenance of HCE. The system helped maintain the distance between the children of the Hawaiians and the Asian immigrants and the Caucasian children for another twenty years. The great majority of these non-Caucasians completed their schooling without making contact with English-speaking children.

The English Standard system was abolished in 1948, with the last English Standard class being graduated in 1960. But Sato (forthcoming) claims the vacuum was soon filled by the establishment of special English sections in individual schools. So, while the English Standard system was no longer in operation, it was still being practiced. For those children who made a conscious effort to adopt English, academic opportunities were made available, opportunities not available to those who did not sound like Caucasians from the mainland United States.

I should mention that the University of Hawaii was also a party to this type of activity. Until about 12 years ago, all undergraduates had to pass a speech course before they could be graduated. Of course, passing this course meant talking like someone from the mainland United States.

Eventually, however, the social stratification of the Hawaiian Islands set up by the missionaries and the English-speaking plantation owners was challenged by the children of the immigrant workers and others shortly after the end of World War II. Since this story is well documented, I will not go into it here. It is of importance to us in our history of the pidginization and creolization of language in Hawaii because it has meant that HCE, over the past 50 years or so, has become more and more like English, moving gradually away from its creole roots.

This has been a gradual process, an evolution, which is called *decreolization*—the creole slowly loses its distinctive features and takes on many of the features of the dominant, superordinate language. As a result, in Hawaii today, there is a linguistic continuum, a number of varieties of HCE. There is no single speech code which we can identify and label HCE. There are two extremes of this linguistic continuum. At one end there is a type of HCE which strongly resembles the HCE spoken by the plantation children in the early 1900s; the other end has something which resembles mainland English which observers have called Standard Hawaii English. This is a regional dialect of English, in the fashion that we have Boston English, or California English, or New York English. What type of HCE a person born and raised in Hawaii speaks depends on a number of factors which include setting (where the person is talking), audience (who the person is talking to and what other persons are present), and topic (what the person is talking about). These are the three main factors which researchers have claimed influence the choice of speech codes elsewhere, so we would expect them to be factors in the choice of speech code in Hawaii also. (See, for example, Ervin-Tripp 1964.)

But there is another factor which may be even more important in Hawaii than setting, topic, and audience. This crucial factor is something which I term *localness*—the willingness of the speaker to identify with the local community, with local values, local lifestyles, in contrast to mainland values, mainland lifestyles. The many varieties of HCE have come to represent this concept of local. HCE, then, in this sense is a state of mind, a way of thinking. It is symbol, a badge. Its use declares or marks its speakers as born and raised in Hawaii, as nonmainlanders, so to speak.

In a certain sense, HCE has replaced the Hawaiian language as the language of the Islands. While statistics are lacking, it may be claimed that HCE is the first language of a majority of the children born and raised in Hawaii. And to the extent that they retain Island roots, to the extent that they identify with Island customs and traditions, they speak some form of HCE as adults. Because of this, I believe that efforts to abolish HCE will not be successful. Getting rid of HCE would not merely be a linguistic change, it would be a social change.

HCE's being the first language of a majority of Islanders has implications for the speech of immigrant children today. It has been my experience, and the experience of others (see Milon 1975, for example), that immigrant children learn HCE before and faster than they learn the English we try to teach them in school. This is not surprising. To the extent that immigrant children want to fit in, want to become part of Island life, then they quickly realize that they have to learn HCE. In this sense, HCE is more important to them than classroom English.

Just because local residents speak HCE does not mean that they cannot speak mainland English, whatever that may be. Many do; many have gone to school, to college, and have worked on the mainland. Many have served in the armed forces and have been stationed all over the world. They use mainland English when rules for speaking call for its use.

We must take note of the fact that there appears to be a certain amount of ambiguousness towards the use of HCE by its speakers. Probably because of its humble beginnings, because its first speakers were uneducated, illiterate, poor workers, HCE is associated with being poor and uneducated. Sato (forthcoming) notes that being labelled a speaker of HCE was considered by many to be a liability in the job market. Many individuals who thought of themselves as American or who aspired to the middle class made a conscious effort to suppress their HCE and their ancestral languages in favor of English. As a result, when a middle class of nonCaucasians became associated with English, the working class's alienation from English increased. HCE came to delineate class as well as ethnic differences in Hawaii (Sato, forthcoming).

Another factor in the ambiguousness towards the use of HCE has to do with its being considered bad grammar or broken English. It has been claimed that HCE has no rules, that anyone can say anything at all. This is not true, of course. HCE, in all its many manifestations, is a rule-governed language, just like other natural languages. For example, you have to say, "You wen talk to Clayton?" and not "talk Clayton wen you to?" (In English, this means, "Did you talk to Clayton?")

When I point this out to those who believe that HCE is merely bad English, they may concede but, they might counter that even if it has rules, it is a limited language, its speakers can't express great, philosophical ideas, it lacks a literature, it has no heritage.

It is true that HCE does not have a literature to compare to English, for example. It has not been around as long. It is, however, developing one. I need only mention the play, Edward Sakamoto's *Manoa Valley*, given to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the University of Hawaii in which HCE was used extensively. And to the charge that it lacks a heritage I am confident that the facts as I presented them in this paper will support a heritage of 200 years or so.

But is it a limited language? Can its speakers express complex thoughts in HCE? HCE, like any other natural language used as a first language by its speakers, is perfectly adequate to express the thoughts, philosophical or otherwise, of its speakers. As Gandhi once said, "There never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or of expressing abstruse or scientific ideas."[2]

Conclusion

I have attempted to show in this paper the history of the pidginization and creolization of language in Hawaii since the late 18th century to the present time. I have tried to account for the growth, development, and maintenance of HCE, and to show how it is in the process of decreolizing. It is difficult to speculate about the future of HCE, although I would be surprised to see it disappear since it has become an integral part of Island culture.

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[2] I am indebted to Francis Mangubhai for this quotation.

Appendix A. Speech samples from Japanese Immigrants to Hawaii*

1. *kote*, *motete*, awl frend giv, no? '[They] buy [presents], take [them] back, and give [them] to all their friends, right?'

2. baimbai, aefta, ai dono waet taim, naintin twenti tri *ka*, foa *ka yo*, paenik kam *yo*. 'Later, afterwards, I don't know when , in 1923 or 1924, [the financial] panic happened'

3. *sore kare* kech *shite kara* pul ap. 'and then catch did after pull up', i.e., 'When he had caught [it he] pulled [it] up'

4. graempa teik *watashi o tsurete nihon ni*. 'Grandpa took I (object marker) take Japanese to', i.e. 'Grandpa took me to Japan.'
5. skul no go natin *koko de*. 'I didn't go to school at all over here.'

6. dis da spat yu laik bai, spiki. ' "This is the spot [that] you want to buy" [he] said.'

These six samples illustrate some of the features which are claimed to be representative of a pidgin. Note, for example, the use of vocabulary from the speaker's language, in this case, Japanese. Word order is variable, sometimes resembling Japanese, other times English, and sometimes neither. In (2), the use of an adverbial to indicate tense is illustrated. Also apparent in the sample sentences is the lack of a consistent tense and aspectual system. These features should be contrasted with the creole features in the sentences given in Appendix B.

Appendix B. Samples of Hawaii Creole English*

1. daet gais oa hia teik awl daet go get panish. 'Those guys over here who took all that will be punished'

2. yu no doz deiz, as jas bin stat, ei, du boilameika, aen nau awl da gaiz dei drink, so yu go raid wan ka, aen da ka no drap yu af. 'You know those days, we'd just started working as boilermakers, and all the guys drank, so you [all] rode in one car, and the car didn't drop you off.'

3. hi tel hi laik go si yu fada. 'He said he wanted to go and see your father.'

4. get diz daiz go hant, se? 'There are these guys who go hunting, see?'

5. if ai neva graeb am, i bin go daun. 'If I hadn't grabbed him, he would have gone down.'

6. bambai ai klin da hol wrks. 'Later I'll clear the whole thing.'

7. ai tink he waz maed, da ol maen. 'I think the old man was angry.'

8. hiz gud, yu no, dis kid. 'This kid's good, you know.'

9. hi waz da taip, daet baga. 'That bugger was the type.'

10. yo no hau mach wan baeg? 'You know how much a bag [is]?'

11. waet hiz laes neim? 'What [is] his last name?'

12. mai waif nat hom. 'My wife [is] not home.'

These 12 sentences illustrated many features of creole languages. In comparing them to the sentences in Appendix A, we see that there is a tense and aspectual system marked by either verbs or preverbs (e.g., *no*, *neva*, *bin*). There is a consistent word order not found in a pidgin. Articles are used (e.g., *wan*). There are various pronouns and modifiers.

(*from Bickerton 1977, Chapter 3).

National Language Policy in Nigeria: Implications for English Teaching

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Introduction

Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, is as diverse in human resources as it is in its languages. With a population of about 80 million, it is generally asserted that one out of every six Africans is a Nigerian. Similarly, with a total of about 400 different languages (see Hansford, Bendor-Samuel and Stanford 1976), it is a living reality that Nigeria accounts for about twenty-five per cent of sub-Saharan African's spoken languages. Despite this multiplicity of languages, Nigeria's official language today is a foreign language, English, a colonial legacy. The language question in contemporary Nigeria's social and educational life is closely interwoven with the political determination of the status of English vis-a-vis Nigeria's indigenous languages. Very often the issue transcends educational and linguistic considerations and borders on controversies over nationalism and charges of neo-colonialism and language imperialism. (see Essien 1981) Three of Nigeria's indigenous languages are designated as "Major Languages" which appear to the serious rivals in the bid for succession of English as the official language in the country. Recently Nigeria has chosen nine of its indigenous languages for educational purposes namely: Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, Edo, Efik, Fulfulde, Ijo, Kanuri and Tiv.

In the over twenty years of Nigeria's existence as an independent nation, her leaders have treaded cautiously on the issue of a definitive pronouncement of the choice of an indigenous language as the offical language. Despite such clear calls on Nigerian linguists to "develop a common language out of the many spoken in the country",[1] English has remained "the official language of government, business and administration, the safe neutral noncommital lingua franca, though its adoption for that purpose is deeply resented by many Nigerians". It seems safter to live with English, its colonial reminiscence notwithstanding, than to delve into the explosive issue of making a choice from one of the ethnic languages in the country.[2] Because of this, Nigeria remained almost twenty years after its independence in 1960, without an unequivocal and explicit language policy. It was not until 1977 that the then Federal Military Government made the first bold bid to formulate a language policy for the country through the publication of a document entitled *Federal Republic of Nigeria National Policy on Education*. It was to be further entrenched in *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979* which stipulates under sections 51 and 91 as follows:

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[1] *West Africa*, 20 August, 1979. The appeal was made by Liman Ciroma the then Secretary of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria.

> The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made therefor. (Section 51)

and that

> The business of a House of Assembly shall be conducted in English, but the House may in addition to English conduct the business of the House in one or more other languages spoken in the State as the House may by resolution approve. (Section 91).

The language policy at best highlighted the importance of Nigeria's indigenous languages and their place in the educational system but instead of advocating the replacement of English as the official language, it prescribes an ambiguous and uneasy co-existence. This paper examines the ramifications of this language policy and its implications for the teaching of English in Nigeria.

Nigeria's National Language Policy

The National Language Policy is stated in five sections (1, 2, 3, 7 and 10) of the *National Policy on Education*, as follows:

(a) Section 1— Philosophy of Nigerian Education

Paragraph 8—The Importance of Language

> In addition to appreciating the importance of language in the educational process, and as a means of preserving the people's culture, the Government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his own mother-tongue. In this connection, the Government considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba. (*National Policy on Education* p. 5)

(b) Section 2—Pre-Primary Education

Paragraph 11—To achieve the above objectives, Government will:

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[2] Only recently some members of the House of Representatives staged a walk-out in protest of the provision in the Nigerian Constitution that the three major languages—Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba be used (in addition to English) in the National Assembly.

> (3) ensure that the medium of instruction will be principally the mother-tongue or the language of the immediate community; and to this end will
> (a) develop the orthography for many more Nigerian languages, and
> (b) produce textbooks in Nigerian languages. Some of these developments are already being pursued in the University Departments of Linguistics and under the auspices of some State Ministries of Education. The Federal Government has also set up a language centre as part of the educational services complex under the Federal Ministry of Education. This language centre will be expanded so as to have a wider scope. (*NPE*. page 6).

(c) Section 3—Primary Education

Paragraph 15(4):

> Government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the primary school is initially the mother-tongue or the language of the immediate community and, at a later stage, English (*NPE*. page 8).

(d) Section 7—Adult and Non-Formal Education

Paragraph 52:

> The objectives of adult and continuing education should be:
> (a) to provide functional literary education for adults who have never had the advantage of any formal education;
> (b) to provide functional and remedial education for those young people who prematurely dropped out of the formal school system; (*NPE*. page 21).
> (5) . . . The recognition of approved training courses outside the formal system of education will be a continuous process, implemented by the National Commission, together with the Federal and State Ministries of Education.
> (6) A new, nation-wide emphasis will be placed on the study of Nigerian Arts and Culture. The National Commission will work out the overall strategy for the inclusion of Nigerian Arts, Culture and Languages in Adult Education Programmes. (*NPE*. page 22).

(e) Section 10—*Educational Services*

Paragraph 84(6):

> Language Centres are being set up at Federal and State levels for enhancing the study of Languages especially Nigerian Languages (*NPE*. page 29).

In summary, the Nigerian National Language Policy stipulates the use of the local language as the medium of instruction for the first three years of the Primary School, and English as the medium of instruction in the last three years. During the period when the local language is the medium of instruction, English would be taught simply as a school subject. This means that the Nigerian child begins formal learning of two languages from the early age of six. The Policy further requires "each child to learn one of the three major languages other than his own mother-tongue". In practice, therefore, the Nigerian child is expected to have learnt three languages in the course of his school career. Two of these (including English) are foreign to him. By implication, therefore, the Policy encourages and seeks to enhance enlightened multi-lingualism in the Nigerian society.

Implementation of the Language Policy

After over five years of the promulgation of the Language Policy its impact remains to be felt in Nigeria's educational system and in the social and cultural environments. The greatest impediment in the implementation of the policy is the Government's lack of systematic action and programme for enforcing the policy. There have been workshops on some indigenous languages and the production of textbooks on such languages but the most fundamental things have been disregarded.

There is no known federal machinery for monitoring the implementation or otherwise of the policy throughout the Federation. The bulk of the policy deals with language education at the primary level. Yet education is a subject on the concurrent legislative list. This means that each state can legislate on its system of primary education including the language policy for same. Adebisi Afolayan (1977, 29) has pointed out an instance in which a state government openly declared that "there is absolutely nothing in the country's educational system which prevents a school from using any language for instruction". Some state governments are sponsoring work on curriculum reviews and the production of textbooks and readers in their individual local languages. No state government has as a matter of policy, introduced into its local primary schools the teaching of another Nigerian language which is not indigenous to it. Nor has the federal government enforced the stipulation of "each child learning one of the three major languages other than his own mother-tongue" in the government owned and controlled secondary schools.

Two major projects have been undertaken by two state governments in the development and use of indigenous Nigerian languages for primary education. The former Western State Government encouraged and supported the University of Ife experiment known as "The Six-Year Primary Project". The Institute of Education at the University of Ife started the project, "a bilingual primary education system that involved the use of Yoruba language as the medium of teaching mathematics, science, yoruba, social and cultural studies and the special teaching of English as a second language throughout". (Afolayan 1977, 28) The project has since been completed and evaluated. Despite the high commendations by the project assessors and evaluators there has been no pronounced follow-up action by the government. (For a detailed report, see Afolayan 1976)

The second major experiment in the use of indigenous languages in Nigerian education was sponsored by the Rivers State Government. Known as "The Rivers Readers Project", it was essentially "an attempt to respond to a unique situation by co-ordinating the efforts of a large number of people through a flexible and relatively informal organization. Its aim is to produce readers and supporting materials in all the languages and major dialects of the state so that children can begin to learn to read in their own language before going on to English." (Williamson 1976, 135-153) Although the project has attained a measure of success it has not achieved its primary objective. Williamson (1976, 151) reports that "The Project has aroused a good deal of interest in the various language areas of State, and at the local level enjoys considerable support. We have not yet, however, achieved the aim of the Project, which is to have every child learning to read *first* in his or her own language."

English Language in Nigeria

English has been called different things by different people at different times in Nigeria. It has been described as a *foreign language*, a *second language* and a *lingua franca*. Yet each of these terms is inadeqate when the practical role of English is considered in Nigeria. D.W. Grieve (1964) refers to English as a second language and yet states that it "has a status higher than that of a Second Language." Although a foreign language in many respects, Chinua Achebe (1975) maintains that English is the "one central language enjoying nation-wide currency". In government circles, English is referred to as the official language of communication, administration and instruction but Ebo Ubahakwe (1973) reveals that it is used by "no more than 5% of the Nigerian population". This imprecise and often ambivalent definition of English creates problems for the English language teacher. It leads to ambiguous attitudes in the teachers as well as the learners towards the language. It also leads to confusion in pedagogical approaches to English as a subject and invariably results in half-measures taken to solve the problems of English language learning and teaching in Nigeria no matter how profound the analysis of such problems may be. Ubahakwe (1973) has aptly argued that "the varied and conflicting functions which the English language currently performs in Nigeria are at the root of our teaching and learning problems in the language".

The Federal Government of Nigeria is committed to a programme to eradicate mass illiteracy in the country. Many scholars have argued persuasively that this goal can be more easily achieved if the mother-tongue medium instead of the multilingual policy is adopted in language education. (See Bamgbose 1977, Banjo 1977) For some Nigerians the only worthy goal for encouraging serious studies in the teaching and learning of indigenous languages, is to hasten the dethronement of English in Nigeria and replace it with a Nigerian language. Yet it would appear that even such a linguistic nationalism may not provide the answer to the difficult problem of mutual intelligibility across ethnic groups in Nigeria or the need for a language of the masses.

The present National Language Policy advocates "equal time" for English and the indigenous languages on the curriculum. While English is studied as a foreign language in the first three years of primary education, it automatically becomes the medium of instruction in the last three years. The general observation here is that learners who go through this system end up knowing neither enough of the English language nor enough of the local language to be able to communicate freely in it especially in writing.

At the secondary level, the standard of performance of the average Nigerian student in English leaves much to be desired. Many people have blamed it as well as the general decline in educational standards on the fact that English is being taught too early in the school system. There have been no empirically decisive studies to justify a definitive pronouncement on the matter. It is necessary to encourage along with the Ife Six-Year Primary Project, a parallel experiment in which English is used as the medium of instruction throughout the six-year primary career.

Implications of the National Language Policy for English Teachers

Elliott L. Judd (1981, 59-66) has stated that "Language policy has a direct impact on TESOL and should therefore be considered as a crucial factor in planning for ESOL programs". He further argues that "the socio-political environment in which English Language instruction occurs has a direct impact on the shape of ESOL instruction. Failure to consider these socio-political factors can lead to dire consequences for all those involved". Judd (1981, 65) concludes that "Educational or national policy serves to define the parameters within which language problems can be developed, and only through an understanding of the English language policy of a given country can we help devise the proper curricular and teaching approach for the particular educational environment."

It is not enough to ask that a language be taught in schools. Its status must be defined, its roles and expectations must be spelt out to facilitate decisions on the curriculum, methodology, the preparation of teachers, the nature and provision of texts and other resources that are pertinent to a teaching-learning situation. At the moment although English and the indigenous Nigerian languages are simultaneously taught in the schools, it is the mastery of the English language that is most emphasized as relevant to further intellectual pursuits and success in careers. Yet politically the dominant position of English over the indigenous languages is resented. While pleading the cause of an indigenous language as a choice for the national language in Nigeria, Liman Ciroma condemned the premier position occupied by English, maintaining that "as long as the country succumbed to the psychological superiority of a foreign language, our mastery of which is suspect, so long will our thought processes continue to be blocked, distorted and falsified and our output mediocre".

What is important is to properly define the needs of English language learners in Nigeria at any given time and then evolve policies and strategies that would lead to the attainment of those needs.

Judging from its present roles in the educational system and the specific needs of the Nigerian learners of English, one will agree with Elliott L. Judd that English is neither a foreign language nor a second language in Nigeria. It is more appropriately "English as an Additional Language". Judd (1981, 65) clarifies that "an EAL situation can be defined as one in which speakers learn English after they learn another primary language and use it for the purposes of communicating with others who have different primary languages. Such situations are found in countries that are multilingual and recognise English as the language for intra-country communication . . . The other important socio-linguistic characteristic of many EAL situations is that a localized version of English has probably emerged".

This aptly describes the position, role and features of English in the Nigerian situation. If English is conceived in the light of an *additional language*, it would have a proper place not only in the National Language Policy but in the educational system as a whole. There will no longer be the unwholesome competition with the indigenous languages in which the latter must always lose. The system would then provide a forceful motivation for the study of Nigerian languages at all levels of the educational system. Instead of the present system where a pass at the credit level must be obtained as a pre-entry qualification into the Universities and most other institutions of higher learning, the policy could be modified so that at the end of the secondary school, every student would be required to pass English and one Nigerian language in order to qualify for the award of the West African School Certificate. This would ensure the continued and vigorous study of Nigerian languages beyond the primary school while making it possible also for English studies to be undertaken and pursued for its interest not terror.

The immediate implication of this for the teacher of English is the realisation that various young Nigerian children will be learning English under some basic assumptions that relate to their needs and experiences. For instance, in designing the primary English syllabus, emphasis would be placed on *oral practice activities* which would enable the children develop rapid capacities for conversations in English "about things they would ordinarily talk about in their own language with people of their age group". Finocchiaro (1964, 37). The over-riding goal here or elsewhere in the educational system would not be to aspire for any ideal standard of English but instead to equip Nigerian learners with adequate English vocabulary with which they can communicate with their counterparts from elsewhere in the country on subjects which are appropriate for their age and experience. It will therefore, not be necessary to go in search of native speakers of English who can be ideal models. The emphasis for that will have shifted to the indigenous languages. English teachers would no longer be aspiring to produce young English speakers who are only Nigerians by accidents of birth, but rather young Nigerians who have adequate knowledge of English to enable them convey their Nigerian experiences, when they have to, to one another. It would no longer be considered absurd if the Nigerian speaks English with his Nigerian accent and/or mannerisms as those would be understood by his Nigerian audience. Nor would it again be awkward to talk about Nigerian English in its proper context.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the ramifications of Nigeria's linguistic problems within the context of the country's national language policy. This Policy advocates the development of indigenous Nigerian languages for the purpose of mother-tongue medium policy of education. Despite this encouragement and support for indigenous languages, the English language is for all practical purposes preserved as the official language of government and business and especially cultivated as an elitist language for high intellectual pursuits and sophisticated careers. The paper recommends a redefinition of the place, role and function of English in both the Nigerian educational system and the Nigerian society.

English should be conceived and taught in Nigeria as an *additional language* which need not denigrate the indigenous languages. Forceful motivations should be provided for the study of the indigenous languages and due recognition given to them in the educational system as well as the public service. No aspiring student who shows exceptional performance in other subjects should be denied the opportunity of higher education in Nigeria merely because he did not show exceptional performance in the English language. The Federal Government should go beyond ordinary pronouncements of Language Policy and devise necessary machinery for effective implementation of same. It should also pay adequate attention to the provision of teachers in required numbers for the success of the policy. In particular there should be a carefully thought-out scheme for the professionalization of teaching to ensure that all those who teach are adequately trained with special incentives given to specialist language teachers, particularly in the Nigerian languages. There should be additional provision for the training of teachers of Nigerian languages at the Teacher Training Colleges, Colleges of Education and Faculties of Education in the Universities. Similarly, there should be provision for the training of specialist teachers of English. There should be a restructuring of the English curriculum at all levels of the Nigerian educational system so that the English Language curriculum will reflect the new role and status of English in the Nigerian society.

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Bilingualism Without Tears

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I suspect there is no such thing as "bilingualism without tears", anymore that there is "growing up without tears", or "life without tears". But somehow, the myth has been perpetuated in our society that becoming bilingual as a child is a "snap"—or perhaps I should say that this is a myth perpetuated by the anglophone majority of our society, who, themselves, have never been faced with the necessity of learning a second language, and who have watched from a distance, young immigrant or minority children playing in English with their friends. Whatever the source, the belief that learning a second language is easy for young children is at the heart of many of our current educational policies. Why else do *early* total French immersion programs exist in Canada? Why else is there currently such an emphasis in the United States that bilingual education be completed by grade one or two? For the most part, it is because it is thought that "early = easy", as far as second language learning is concerned.

Each of us could, I am sure, provide anecdotal evidence which would counter the claim that early bilingualism is achieved easily. Let met give just one example of a 4 year old girl, Elizabeth, who was fluently bilingual in French and English. One time Elizabeth and a French speaking friend of hers were playing together. Elizabeth was in the process of telling her friend a story in French when a third person, an English speaker, walked into the room. Initially the two children ignored her, and Elizabeth went on with her story. Eventually, however, the third person interrupted with, "tell me too". Elizabeth's response was to angrily say to her friend, in French, of course: "All the time, I have to explain things to her. C'mon, just the two of us, let's get out of here. I don't want to talk to *her*." Elizabeth then stormed out of the room. I found her shortly afterwards in her bedroom—crying.

Maybe Elizabeth was just upset over having her story interrupted. I suspect, though, there was more to it than that. I suspect that the competing demands her two linguistic worlds were simultaneously making on her were at the root of her frustration. My point in telling this story is not, however, to determine why Elizabeth was unhappy, but simply to indicate her unhappiness and frustration. This story, and many, many others, attest to the social and emotional crises that can accompany bilingualism. What can schools do about them? How can they help?

The answer for some, is simple: do not develop bilingualism, develop monolingualism. Teach immigrant minority children English. Assimilate them, and the problems will go away. The trouble with this answer is that it is wrong. The problems do not necessarily go away; they may even increase, for the individual, and for the society.

So the answer lies in developing bilingualism. And if we are looking to schools to aid in this process, the answer must lie in bilingual education. But what sort of bilingual education? And what sort of bilingual teaching?

There are a bewildering array of children to serve, from children with limited proficiency to full proficiency in either their first language, their second language, or both. There are children who already have some literacy skills, and some that do not. There are children whose home language is a socially or economically prestigious language, and there are those whose home language is not. Can common denominators of bilingual education be identified that will serve this complex array of child characteristics?

I think so. And that is what I would like to focus on in this paper. I will call these common denominators, "principles" of successful bilingual education. By successful bilingual education, I mean a program which leads to the development and maintenance of bilingual skills, high levels of academic achievement, and personal social-psychological enrichment. There are three principles of successful bilingual education that I would like to suggest. There are surely others. But for today, I will consider only three principles. The first principles is the principle of "first things first"; the second is the principle of "bilingualism through monolingualism"; and the third is the principle of "bilingualism as a bonus".

Principle of First Things First

The first principle, that of first things first, establishes the central role of the child's first language in all aspects of his or her educational development. It says, ensure that the children's home language is adequately developed before worrying about progress in their second language. It implies that the first language is so instrumental to the emotional and academic well-being of the children, that its development must be seen as a high, if not the highest, priority in the early years of schooling.

Why is the development of the first language so crucial to second language development, academic success, and emotional well-being? Perhaps the role of the home language is easiest to understand with respect to the psychological and emotional development of the child, and is so obvious as to need little explanation. To be told, whether directly or indirectly, explicitly or implicitly, that your language and the language of your parents, of your home and of your friends is non-functional in school is to negate your sense of self. One can imagine any number of responses on the part of the children who hear this message. They could accept the school's dictum and reject their families; they could feel anger and frustration towards their teachers and school, which could lead to hostility and aggression and eventually dropping-out of school, or to a denial of the value of school. And so on. Needless to say, none of these are healthy responses, but each of them have been observed (e.g. Gardner and Lambert, 1972). Moreover, in addition to the negative feelings that might be generated towards members of the majority language community, socially and culturally, there is, at least with many minority groups, the real possibility of developing feelings of ambivalence towards their *own* language and social-self. This "bicultural ambivalence" (Cummins, 1982) is particularly destructive both to one's self and to society.

Acceptance of the home language in the home and school is clearly, then, one of the first steps in creating an environment where learning can occur, an environment which fosters feelings of self-worth and self-confidence. But acceptance of the home language is only the beginning. Active encouragement to make use of the home language in school is equally important. This can be done in a variety of ways. One way, of course, is to use the language as a medium of instruction, which not only enhances students' comprehension, thereby improving academic performance, but also provides concrete evidence that the home language is a useful and valued tool. Teachers can also ask children for the cooperation of their parents in preparing assignments concerned with cultural traditions, family histories, family stories, folk tales, jokes, etc. Local people such as artists, musicians, athletes and businessmen who are fluent in the children's first language can be brought in to talk with them (Legarreta-Marcaida, 1981). Whatever can be done to involve the home and community in the school program will help to convince the students that the school is sincere in its regard for their language and culture.

Under these conditions, most research indicates that children from linguistic minorities feel better about themselves, their language and their culture than children in English-only programs (e.g. Rivera, 1972; Skoczylas, 1972). The trend noted in some studies (e.g. Morris, 1974) of a decreasing self-concept among minority children with increasing years in regular English classes can be reversed, with the result that the basic conditions for learning are, at least, present.

It has been argued that primary French immersion programs in Canada provide a counter-example for the need to make use of the home language in school. Nothing could be further from the truth. In the first place, the home language of the immersion students *is* used in the school. The home language, which is English for the French immersion children, is the language of the school. That is, most French immersion programs are housed in English schools and so the language of the corridors and the playground is English. Moreover, although the language of instruction is French right from the first day of kindergarten, the children frequently use English when speaking to their teacher and their classmates for the first year or two of school. This is made possible by the fact that French immersion teachers are bilingual. Although the teachers do not *speak* English in class, they understand whatever the children say to them. In this way, the teachers can respond relevantly, appropriately and supportively to their students, and build from the child's existing linguistic repertoire and interests.

Secondly, instruction in, and about, English is introduced in primary French immersion programs from the second or third grade. From then on, it remains part of the curriculum with increasing allotments of time given to it.

And thirdly, this is done even though the French immersion children come from the dominant, majority group culture. For them, there is no threat in learning a second language to feelings of self-worth or personal identity. There is virtually no possibility, given the overwhelming use of English in the wider environment, that they could lose their home language. So do not let anyone try to tell you that French immersion education as practised in Canada does not allow for the use of the home language in school.

Having suggested, then, that one reason for introducting the first language of minority students first is to create, at minimum, the conditions under which learning can take place, we now need to examine the role the first language plays in achieving improved academic performance and second language development.

The usual rationale for using the home language to teach academic content is that the children will be able to understand what is being taught, and therefore, they will not fall behind in school while they are learning English. This argument makes sense as far as it goes. The problem is that it does not go far enough. Not only will the children be learning academic content, but they will be improving their first language skills in the process. Developing full proficiency in their first language will promote the same in their second language.

This is an important point: that developing full proficiency in the first language promotes the same in the second language. What it assumes is that there is an underlying proficiency that is common to both languages (Cummins, 1981a; Swain, 1981). Consider, for example, literacy related skills. The difficult task is learning to read. Once reading, as a skill and as a knowledge source, has been learned, then it is relatively simple matter to transfer the skill and knowledge to a second language context. In other words, one does not relearn to read every time a new language is learned. One makes use of already learned skills and knowledge in learning to read the second time around. Similarly, once one has learned how to use language as a tool for conceptualizing, drawing abstract relations or expressing complex relationships in one language, then these processes, or language functions, are applicable to any language context. Thus, spending time learning in one language does not impede the development of these language functions in a second language; it enhances them. Or, to put it another way, spending time learning in one language benefits both languages with respect to developing those language related skills associated with cognitive functioning and literacy related activities.

Given that this is the case, and there is considerable research evidence to suggest that it is (e.g. Cummins *et al*, in press), then the implications for the role of the first language and bilingual education are profound. Simply stated, they are that learning in the first language benefits both first and second language development, and that, therefore, more time spent developing the first language, which implies less time spent teaching the second language, should lead to superior first and second language development.

The evidence for this claim comes from a variety of sources. (See Cummins, 1981b, for a review.) There are a growing number of bilingual education programs for minority language children in the United States, and elsewhere, where the students in the program exhibit improved first and second language skills, *and* superior academic performance relative to bilingual students in monolingual programs. These bilingual education programs are characterized by the use of the first language for instructional purposes for a major portion of the curriculum in the early primary years of schooling, with increasing portions of the curriculum taught in English in later elementary schooling.

Once again, the results from the early total French immersion programs in Canada have been used to argue that initial education in the first language is not necessary for successful second language learning or academic progress. However, the data from French immersion studies, when examined longitudinally, suggest otherwise.

The evidence from the early immersion programs indicates that after several years of schooling in French, immersion children interact with relative ease and naturalness in face to face play sessions with native French speaking peers (Szamosi, Swain and Lapkin, 1979). However, at the same time, that is, at about the grade two level, the immersion children's performance on a standardized test of French achievement placed them at approximately the 16th percentile relative to native French speakers in Quebec (Swain and Barik, 1976). It was not until about the *sixth* grade that the immersion student's performance on a standardized test of French placed them at about the 50th percentile in relation to francophones (e.g. Swain, Lapkin and Andrew, 1981). Now, recall that I mentioned earlier that instruction in and about English, the immersion children's first language, is introduced into the program in grade two or three. Up until that time their performance on standardized tests of English was inferior to that of comparable groups of English speaking students educated only in English (e.g. Barik and Swain, 1975). But once English literacy was introduced into the program, the immersion students quickly caught up, and eventually surpassed their English-educated peers in some aspects of measured English language skills (e.g. Barik and Swain, 1978).

There are two important points to note in these data. The first point is that the scores on tests of French achievement of the immersion children remained below average until marked improvement was noted in their English achievement scores. In other words, it was not until their first language achievement scores had improved considerably that their second language achievement scores increased to indicate average performance relative to francophones. The message here is that first language literacy-related instruction is associated with improved second language performance in literacy-related tasks. Thus, even the French immersion data support the claim of the crucial role played by the first language in second language development.

The second point to note from these date is that although the French immersion children were able to interact in face to face play situations with French children after several years in the program, it took some *six to seven* years in the program to produce average performance on second language achievement tests. The message here is that language learning takes time. The message is also that we should re-examine our expectation that bilingual education should be, or even can be, a short and transitory experience, if it is to be a successful one. We should be thinking of the long term, and watching for the cumulative benefits to emerge.

So, to summarize the principle of first things first: it means that a priority of education should be to ensure that the child has a sound basis in his or her first language. By doing this, we will provide for the child a social-emotional environment in which the basic conditions for learning can occur; and in which the linguistic and cognitive development in the first language will support the same in the second language.

The Principle of Bilingualism Through Monolingualism

The second principle of successful bilingual education is the principle of bilingualism through monolingualism. This principle refers to the way in which the languages of instruction are used by the teaching staff. On one hand, the two languages can be used *concurrently*, that is, with frequent shifting back and forth between the two languages within a class lesson. This approach to bilingual teaching has been called the "mixing approach" (McLaughlin, 1978). On the other hand, the two languages can be used *separately*, separate by person, by time, by lesson, or by subject content. This approach to bilingual teaching I will call the "separation" approach. The principle of bilingualism through monolingualism proposes that the development of bilingual skills on the part of the students will be enhanced by the separated use of languages on the part of the teachers.

What is the evidence to support this claim? One piece of evidence comes from a study recently completed by Legaretta (1979) of six bilingual classrooms. In five classrooms the concurrent, or mixing, approach was used, and in one classroom the separation approach was used such that only one language was used in the morning and the other language was used in the afternoon. The kindergarten children in these classes were pretested and tested again six months later in both Spanish and English. The children in the bilingual program using the separation approach made significantly greater gains in oral comprehension of English and in communicative skills in general in both English and Spanish than the children in the classes using the mixing approach.

We might ask why the separation approach would produce superior results relative to the mixing approach. There are at least four fairly powerful reasons that I can think of.

One reason is that children apparently learn to ignore the language they do not understand. If the same, or related, message is typically given in both languages, then there is no motivation to try to figure out what is being said in English. Lily Wong-Fillmore (1980), describing video-tapes of children in a classroom where a concurrent translation approach was used, reports the students

> "alternatively being attentive and inattentive as the teachers switch between languages in their lessions. During the time the language they do not understand is being spoken, the students simply stop listening" (p. 29).

A second reason for the greater effectiveness of the separation approach may be that students and teachers have to work harder: students are trying to make sense of what the teacher's message is; and teachers are trying to present a message that makes sense. For the teacher, this means, as Lily Wong-Fillmore (1980) suggests:

> "that the lesson must involve enough of the kinds of experiences (e.g. demonstrations, participation in ongoing activities) which permit the child to figure out what the point of the lesson is even if they do not understand what is being said, or could not understand it out of context. This kind of approach requires a lot of planning, preparation and imagination on the part of the teacher" (p. 99).

Our experience in Canada with French immersion, an example of a bilingual education program that has used the separation approach, has shown that not only does the teaching draw on all the creative resources of the teacher, but that it works—the children learn the second language and progress satisfactorily in subject matter learning as well.

A third reason for the relative effectiveness of the separation approach may be that, although it draws on the creative resources of the teachers, it is less demanding of their linguistic resources. That is to say, switching back and forth between languages is an exhausting task. Simultaneous interpretation, to which the task of a teacher using a concurrent approach to bilingual teaching can be likened, is recognized by their profession as extremely demanding, and in Canada, at least, the union representing simultaneous interpreters insists that no one can work for longer than twenty minutes without a break. Surely an exhausted teacher cannot be the best teacher. By definition, the separation approach does not make these sorts of exhausting demands on the teacher.

A fourth reason for the superiority of the separation approach may be related to the first principle, that of first things first. Although many bilingual teachers may be convinced that in a concurrently taught program, they are using each language about equally as often, they may be wrong. Bilingual individuals are frequently unaware of which language they are using at a given time, or that they have switched from one language to another. This means that they may well be inaccurate in their own perception of how much, and for what purposes, they use each language. For example, Legarreta-Marcaida (1981), commenting on her research in bilingual classrooms, noted that:

> "teachers and aides have been confident that they use Spanish and English about equally. When classroom interaction was assessed quantitatively, however, to arrive at actual percentages of Spanish and English used, it was found that in classrooms using Concurrent Translation, English was used by both the teacher and the aide, on an average, nearly three-quarters (72 percent) of the time; and Spanish was being used just over one-quarter (28 percent) of the time" (p. 104).

It is interesting to note that this was done by teachers and aides whose first language was Spanish. In contrast, in the separation approach class, nearly equal amounts of Spanish and English were used.

What these sorts of data suggest is that the separation approach, that is, an approach that ensures that the languages will be kept separate instructionally, counteracts the natural "pull" exerted by the dominant position of the majority language. It helps to overcome the *natural* tendency of minority language speakers to shift to the majority language. It, in effect, ensures that the first language will keep its position, both psychologically for the children and sociologically within the confines of the school as an institution, as an equally important and accepted language along with English.

Consider, for example, what Legarreta-Marcaida (1981) reports was observed in an unmonitored mixing approach as opposed to a separation approach:

> " . . . bilingual teachers in the Concurrent Translation classrooms used an average of 77 percent English for "solidarity" functions (e.g. warming, accepting, or amplifying pupil talk), while the separation teaching staff used much more Spanish (72 percent) for this function" (p. 105).

The hidden message of this kind of distribution of language use over sociolinguistically important functions of language as observed in the concurrent classrooms can be serious. It can negate all the overt signs of the first principle, of first things first, and, by so doing, reinforce or re-establish the negative consequences of bicultural ambivalence.

So, to summarize, the principle of bilingualism through monolingualism argues that it is pedagogically more sound to use languages separately in an instructional unit than to use them concurrently. The most obvious reasons for the greater pedagogical effectiveness of the separation approach are four-fold. First, if languages are used concurrently, students tend to tune out the language they do not know, or are least competent in. This leads to boredom, and lack of motivation to learn the second language on the part of the students. Secondly, using the two languages in separate contexts, that is, not being able to rely on the other language when the going gets tough, means that both teachers and students may have to work harder. For the students this may mean greater concentration on what the teacher is saying, knowing that there is no other way to understand what is going on. For the teacher this means, by necessity, a reliance on a multitude of non-verbal, gestural, visual cues, a reliance on personal ingenuity and creativity, and a nonreliance on the other language. Ultimately this means the children will benefit more, because any material which is taught in the first language, will be fully presented in that language, and not be sacrificed to the vocabulary and structural exposition of the second language. Thirdly, the exhausting linguistic demands of translating from language to language, or even of covering the same topics in both languages, will not be imposed on the teacher. Fourthly, through the use of the minority language over a lengthly time period, the linguistic pull of the dominant culture can be counteracted. In effect, it is one way to overcome the strong influence of the external sociolinguistic forces that promote the use of the majority language. It ensures a healthy balance of language use: pedagogically, psychologically and sociolinguistically. These, then, are the reasons behind the principle of bilingualism through monolingualism.

The Principle of Bilingualism as a Bonus

The third principle I want to mention with respect to the successful functioning of a bilingual education program is "bilingualism as a bonus". The intent of this principle is simple: let your students know how and why bilingualism will work for them. And the corollary to this principle is "believe it, and it will become a self-fulfilling prophecy". In other words, "boast the benefits of bilingualism" to your students, their parents, educators in the system, to anyone you talk to.

There are lots of benefits that you can boast about bilingualism. They range from political to economic to cultural to linguistic to cognitive to personal benefits.

For example, several years ago children at the grade five and six level in the French immersion program and in the regular English program in Toronto and Ottawa were asked to write an opinion essay on the topic of "Why I like (or don't like) being a Canadian". Their responses were not analyzed linguistically. Instead, the content of what they said was examined. The results indicated that the immersion children gave three times as many reasons, on the average, as the monolingual children did for why they liked being Canadian. In addition, they gave as reasons for why they liked being Canadian, statements that could be classified as relating to the linguistic and cultural diversity of Canada. That is, both the immersion and monolingual groups wrote in their essays about the physical beauty of Canada—the fact that in Canada you can find mountains, plains and lakes. However, the immersion children, and only the immersion children, also wrote about the linguistic and cultural diversity of Canada (Swain, 1980). To quote one grade five immersion student:

> "I like being Canadian because we have people from all over the world who may live just next door. Here in Canada you hear different languages and [different] styles . . . And most of all we care."

Another example representing a heightened linguistic and cultural understanding—"an insight into different cultures and ways of organizing knowledge" (Cummins and Ma, 1982) comes from the writings of a teenager who was a New Canadian Student (Henry Ma) from Hong Kong. He wrote:

> "English style is very different from my style. English people do not like sentences to go round and round, and the idea must be clear, but in our tradition we tend to go around and around and then at least the focus becomes narrower and narrower."

These are personal individual examples. The professional literature includes considerable research evidence which suggests that bilingualism is strongly correlated with cognitive flexibility (see Swain and Cummins, 1979 for a review), superior first language skills (Swain and Lapkin, 1981), and higher measured IQ (Barik and Swain, 1976). However, this is true only for "additive" forms of bilingualism and not for subtractive forms.

Thus what we need to be assured of, in order to produce these benefits of bilingualism is that an additive form of bilingualism exists. And that brings us back to the principle of "first things first". It is only through the careful support, development and maintenance of the *first* language in a minority linguistic group situation that there is any guarantee of the development of "additive" bilingualism, that is, where the second language is *added* to the first without any threat of loss to the first language. This is in contrast to the situation of "subtractive" bilingualism, where the learning of a second language, because of its majority status, its prestige value, or whatever results in the lack of maintenance, or loss, of the first language. Ultimately this condition can lead to monolingualism in a second language, rather than bilingualism.

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, I have suggested three principles which underlie the operation of successful bilingual education programs. The principle of first things first, argues for the development and maintenance of the first language in school on the grounds that this will provide the essential psychological and sociological support for linguistic and academic learning in both languages. The second principle, that of bilingualism through monolingualism, argues for the separated use of the two languages for instructional purposes. And the third principle, that of bilingualism as a bonus, argues that it is our responsibility to know about the possible benefits of bilingualism and the conditions which will lead to them. It is my belief that it is our responsibility as educators to aid in the creation of the conditions that will foster positive forms of bilingualism.

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Teacher Training in China: Problems and Perspectives

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Introduction

In this paper we will discuss the problems and constraints encountered by the Fulbright team at the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute (SFLI) in training Chinese university teachers during the academic year 1980-1981. We will focus on those constraints imposed on the program from the outside, those imposed from within by the teacher trainees themselves and the need for adjustments to run the program within these constraints. The constraints discussed are not problems of a day-to-day nature, attributable to linguistic or pedagogic issues; rather, they are all constraints existing before we began our program, and which continue to persist today. We will also discuss certain known short-term results of the program, as well as implications of this report for EFL in China. A discussion of constraints is important in a number of respects:

1) It points out the range of factors influencing a program in a developing country;
2) It shows that a carefully conceived program, not accounting for constraints, will experience serious problems;
3) It highlights the need for feedback and flexibility during the course of a program.

We focus on problems and restrictions with the realization that successful working programs must operate within these realities, rather than in terms of some ideal concept. In talking with other foreign experts in China, we realized that many of the constraints we experienced were not unique to our program, but were identified by many foreign teachers in China, each independent of the others, after considerable investment of time and energy (Sullivan and Hensley, 1982; East-West Center Conference on Teaching

English Language and Journalism in China, May 5-6, 1982). By focussing on these factors we intend to share what could be helpful information with future foreign experts in China and so save them considerable duplication of effort. We also feel that a discussion of our program will highlight aspects of EFL in China that have wider implications than those implicit in narrow EFL program design.

Initial Considerations

Based on our orientation and the first-time basis of the program we assumed that there would be numerous difficulties, though we had little detailed information beforehand. We based our program initially on the somewhat vague but ambitious goal stated by the Chinese school administration: to upgrade the English language abilities of teachers whose study of English was disrupted by the Cultural Revolution. To accomplish this goal we were to teach speaking, grammar, reading, and writing for twenty hours a week with lectures four days a week on linguistics and language teaching methodology. In addition we were to include films on American culture provided by the International Communications Agency (ICA). We expected, then, to be teaching language, with a heavy emphasis on linguistics and language pedogogy. Implied in the official requests made by the Chinese was that the trainees would have sufficient background to assimilate what they would be taught.

We built our initial design around these expectations, somewhat modified, planning to "see what we could do" that would be practical and of lasting benefit. After evaluating the students we decided on a fourteen hour a week program with the following goals:

1) Provide students with the opportunities to develop and gain confidence in their listening and speaking abilities.
2) Develop their reading fluency and help them become self-sufficient readers of English.
3) Develop their writing skills by working with them on basic rhetorical patterns of English expository prose.
4) Provide as much cultural background information as possible. Build up their knowledge of the world that English speakers assume when they speak.
5) Give formal lectures to explain standard terminology, theoretical assumptions, methods and techniques as they are discussed by EFL specialists.
6) Be available for any questions about any aspect of the above five goals.

This, then, is the program design we set up at the SFLI. While the program itself has a number of interesting aspects to it, we feel that a discussion of problems and restrictions met would be more useful to the needs of others planning future programs than would a detailed analysis of program content.

Constraints External to the Program

In retrospect, we have broken down the constraints imposed on the program into two types. The first consists of constraints imposed on the program from the outside; that is, from beyond the skills, needs and expectations of the participants themselves. The second—those which were internal to the program—we will discuss later in this paper. Of the first type, we will discuss the following five:

1) Unclear or changing educational policies,
2) The role of English in China's modernization policies,
3) The emphasis on literature in language instruction,
4) Bureaucratic restrictions,
5) Limitations in support structure.

Changing Educational Policies

In China's recent history the place of intellectuals in society has undergone a number of shifts. Their proper function in society, their role in national progress, and their impact on the cohesion of social change in China has created a sense of ambivalence towards them. Moreover, since 1950, extreme swings in official attitudes towards and away from intellectuals has strongly affected the Chinese by determining who is educated in China and how, as well as by creating much instability within educational institutions. Because of these swings in attitude and their resulting effect on educational policy, the educational system within which we were working had undergone major dismantlings and restructurings (Fingar and Reed, 1982; Pepper, 1980, 1982; Rosen, 1982).

The first occurred during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). During that time, national leaders felt that too large a gap had developed between life in the cities and that in the countryside, between mental and manual labor, and between the peasants and a growing elite of intellectuals and bureaucrats. As a result, education was radically altered. Most schools were closed down for a year or more, with universities closed anywhere from 4 to 8 years. It was considered dangerous to be an intellectual. Study and research were discouraged. Faculty were demeaned and, like students, sent to work in factories and on farms. The entrance exam system was abolished and students were selected for college based on recommendations from their work units as to their correct political attitudes, family background (with preference given to the children of workers and peasants), and work attitudes rather than on the basis of academic achievements. Curricula were changed to emphasize production needs, so attention to liberal arts was reduced. College curricula were shortened from 4-6 to 2-3 years, while primary and secondary schooling was reduced from 6 to 3-5 years each. Much class time was re-allocated to political study and manual labor.

In 1977, with the institution of the Four Modernizations (national defense, science and technology, industry, and agriculture), the educational system again shifted radically. Academic study was re-emphasized. School was regularized. Many of the older teachers, now considered a valuable part of the modernization drive, returned to their classrooms. Time allocation changed back to five years for secondary and three to four years for universities. University entrance was no longer determined largely by family origin, but by the reinstituted entrance examination. And, often, those who did well in language schools were given priority in acceptance. Students who had had their studies interrupted during the Cultural Revolution now found themselves in a rush to catch up.

This is the milieu out of which our trainees came as well as the framework within which ther SFLI administration operated. Both students and administrators had experienced these shifts and were cautiously feeling their way to places within the new system. Doubts existed about the stability of the current educational policies, about what to teach, and about the role and status of teachers, administrators and foreign experts. Subtle shifts in national policies continued to occur (toward or away from Americans, political study, etc.) which in turn affected campus mood, at times causing confusion and instability and hindering smooth operation of the Institute and the program.

English and the Four Modernizations

The present educational course was set by Deng Xiaoping and first introduced in 1977. The policy was to allocate time for technical study and scientific work, and to give a free hand to the research institutes, with the objective of "mastering the world's latest science and technology." Though the Chinese recognize a definite connection between English and their modernization goals, this connection is neither fully nor clearly defined. Of course there are other reasons for studying English, and they are presented in a number of articles (Wang, 1982; Cowan, *et al.*, 1979; Light, 1978; etc.). But that is not the central concern here. There is a single more essential rationale for tying English to China's modernization efforts. English is the international language of science and technology. Eight-five percent of all information in world-wide informational storage and retrieval networks is in English (Kaplan, 1982). Thus, information access at the highest levels demands English.

The necessity to become technologically competitive (that is, to be independent of outside technology) requires a number of things that China does not yet have. One of these items is an information access system. For such a system China needs:

1) An extensive modern library and library-access system with up-to-date resources, quite a bit of it in English,
2) A full range of scholarly journals, including English ones,
3) Access to global information storage and retrieval networks, which are English-based for the most part,
4) A large number of English speakers/readers to access the above system.

Such an information access system is an essential intermediary between English and the Four Modernizations. While not a sufficient condition for modernization by itself, English, is, nevertheless, a necessary link in the research and development system essential to modernization (Kaplan, 1980, 1982). (While this may be true of China, it may not be so for other countries).

Given the above scenario as representing the true need for English in China, programs and curricula should be designed accordingly. But since this connection between English and what is involved in developing its role with respect to the Four Modernizations is not yet clearly understood, Chinese English language policy planners have not directed English language instruction most effectively. This is evident in the present emphasis placed on literary study at advanced levels of instruction.

The Emphasis on Literature in Language Programs

While we see literary study at advanced levels as a misplaced emphasis in EFL curricula, the reasons for its popularity in China are many and complex. We will present what we see as the most salient of these.

1. Literature instruction fulfills the more general traditional notion of higher education as an analysis of texts (the mark of an educated person), (abstract) lectures, rote memorization of interpretations, and the teacher as an unquestioned authority figure.

2. The study of literature is seen as a prestige field of study, a sign that the student has passed beyond the mechanics.

3. The use of literary excerpts, and discussion thereof, makes teaching advanced students more manageable; it keeps the class within the limits of the teacher's abilities (and incidentally assures that the teacher will remain the authority figure).

4. Literature study is offered as a generalized proficiency training because most students and administrators do not know what sort of work will be assigned to graduates (Tao, 1980).

5. Literature is taught because school administrators do not know what to teach at advanced levels of English. Language institutes typically are very good at instruction up to low intermediate levels (TOEFL 400-450; FLI 1+), but are at a loss above this level.

6. Literature study is stressed by foreign cultural and educational ex-

change offices because it is a highly visible and prestigious forum from which to present the best of that culture's ideas (i.e., the best of America).

7. Finally, literary study ties in well with presently conceived English language methodology. In China the core of a language program is "intensive reading" (Wang, 1982), consisting of a line by line syntactic analysis of literary excerpts. Both administrators and students often feel uncomfortable with approaches to language teaching other than intensive reading.

All of these reasons combine to make literary study the preferred means for advanced EFL instruction. Unfortunately, the study of literature as the sole emphasis at advanced levels is not the best means of preparation for the sorts of English skills China wants.

Limitations Imposed by the Bureaucracy

Of all the constraints on the program, those imposed by various levels of the bureaucracy were the most difficult to deal with. In China the specific responsibilities of groups and individuals, as well as the channels for communication, were seldom clear. Our program, for example, was governed by the Central Ministry of Education, the Central Foreign Expert's Bureau (FEB), and the SFLI FEB office, and the higher academic administration of the SFLI. Underlying all levels to varying extents, were Communist Party influences.

It took the Cultural Affairs Officer at the American Consulate the year we were there to sort out some of the layers of responsibility. With such unclear lines of responsibility, it is very difficult to follow up promises made at meetings, to collect what was promised, or to request changes, whether regarding matters that affected the program (what kind of final exams would be given and when, vacation days, permission to show films, etc.), or those that affected the teaching team (travel permits, housing arrangements, other parts of our contract agreements). Normal frustrations inherent in any bureaucracy were exacerbated by the questions that existed about the status and role of foreign experts in China, and by the Chinese ambivalence towards them. Rules which were interpreted flexibly on one day, could be rigidly interpreted the next, while the person responsible for the change remained hidden behind a camouflage of red tape. In some respects such a situation is inevitable. The foreigner will be staying in China for only a short time; the bureaucrat will continue living there and must do what he can to protect himself while working within the system. We were sometimes told that people were afraid to be too nice to foreigners in case the national pendulum should again swing away from openness to foreign friendship.

Another bureaucratic constraint directly affected the students' performance. Though our program was called a training program, it was used for purposes of evaluation as well. Students were told that our evaluations would be used to determine which classes and programs they would teach in their host universities. Since universities in China are threatened by overstaffing and teachers fear losing their jobs in the cities, this decision on the part of the administration increased the anxiety and pressure felt by the students; one or two points on a test score often caused near panic.

Limitations in Support Structure

A program, when housed at a host institute, will require an assortment of support structures—administrative, academic, material, and personal. In fact, we encountered many problems in this respect. We have discussed some of the administrative problems above. Academic limitations came from an atmosphere of secrecy and isolation. We were discouraged from talking with faculty from other schools and were isolated from other departments within the institute itself. (L. G. Alexander, for example, came to the Institute for a ten day workshop. We did not know he was on campus until after the sixth day, although he was working in the building next to ours.) An additional constraint on the academic environment was that, while we expected libraries to be limited and research materials hard to come by, access to those materials was sometimes difficult to obtain. Material limitations were also found in the lab equipment, which was in disrepair, and in the attitude of the administration, which was to invest as little as possible in the program.

In the personal area, the issue of "back doors" is an important one. "Back doors" are friends within the system, a traditional means of circumventing bureaucratic obstacles, whether to buy a watermelon when none are available, or to get a heater fixed, or to get tickets to a good event. Few "back doors" are open to foreign teachers and even those that are available may close unpredictably. With "back doors" life can be comfortable; without them it can be extremely frustrating, causing a breakdown in morale.

Constraints Internal to the Program

What has been described so far are the sorts of constraints imposed on the program by factors not specifically related to the needs, skills and expectations of the teacher trainees themselves. The following set of constraints will focus on the program participants:

1) A reluctance to participate in open discussions,
2) Little exposure to native English speakers,
3) Little exposure to the world beyond China's borders,
4) Language skills deficiencies,
5) Differing needs and motivations of the trainees,
6) Limited teacher training.

The participants in the program (about 40 each session) were selected from institutes and universities in the Shanghai area. Trainees ranged in age from 23 to 45, each having at least two years' teaching experience. They were a bright, intense and highly motivated group who exhibited a thorough, detailed knowledge of English grammar. When they entered the program they had a fairly high level of spoken fluency, though they were not fully confident about speaking English. The types of constraints imposed by the trainees included background factors as well as skills levels.

A Reluctance to Participate in Open Discussions

Most trainees, for various reasons—a fear of losing face, a desire to avoid confrontation, a reluctance to be singled out, a fear of making mistakes and ruining their future job prospects—were reluctant to participate in class discussions. This reluctance is not limited to foreign teacher classes. For, when our trainees returned to their own classrooms as teachers, they would expect little participation from their students who, they knew, would, in turn, be reluctant to speak in class. The reluctance to participate and the cycle of which it is a part, are obvious constraints on teachers who are charged with helping students improve their spoken fluency.

Little Exposure to Native English Speakers

Though most students had learned English from textbooks and had never talked to native English speakers regularly, they were generally very capable English speakers. However, because of their textbook orientation and the lack of native-speaker contact, their English was marked by odd or archaic usage. In addition, since they were patterning their English speaking and writing styles on a Chinese model, their English was amply sprinkled with proverbs, slogans and idioms. Students also tended to trust prescriptive decisions regarding correct usage more than the opinions of native speakers.

Little Exposure to the World Beyond China's Borders

After thirty years of isolation from the outside world, it is not surprising that students knew little about the world: its geography, history, current events, etc. As a consequence, however, they and the foreign teachers lacked a certain common vocabulary and frame of reference. Explaining American usage to students who have no concept of life in the U.S. or the rest of the contemporary world is not an easy task. An answer to a question about a vocabulary item (credit card, skyscraper, nazi, Switzerland) often became, of necessity, a mini-history or culture lesson. If there was every any doubt, our students clearly demonstrated that knowledge of the world is necessary to attain native-speaker proficiency in listening/speaking. Without appropriate background students are unable to understand or interpret English conversations they hear, or English films they see, and are unable to respond as English speakers would, using natural language influenced by underlying cultural assumptions.

Deficient Language Skills

Most of the teachers were lacking in the sorts of English skills that are expected of university level English teachers.

1. Many lacked a fluent reading ability in English. They were not accustomed to absorbing large amounts of material in English.
2. Many lacked experience with English expository prose.
3. Many lacked a full awareness of English usage of normal semantic range.

These deficiencies can be predicted, given an "intensive reading" and literature approach to advanced EFL instruction. A clear illustration of points two and three is presented in Appendix II, an excerpt from a trainee's essay.

Differing Needs and Motivations of the Trainees

All of the trainees had in some way been affected by the Cultural Revolution and all were in the program because they had been assigned to it. Some middle-aged teachers had been away from English teaching for several years and needed to brush up on their language skills to keep ahead of the students whom they would be teaching. Some young teachers, who felt both insecure about their language abilities and intimidated by their students, wanted to feel more secure about their knowledge of English. Some did not want to be teachers, either because they did not enjoy the job or because they were afraid that in a future Cultural Revolution they would be persecuted. Most were motivated to do well in the program by a desire to obtain or keep a job in the city, teaching at a university. Because they needed to do well, they tried to cooperate with the administration in the priorities it set up for the program: an upgrading of English language skills and an exposure to linguistics and methodology.

But a conflict arose in what the trainees thought they needed for their jobs. On the job, they would have to work within the existing educational system using materials and teaching to exams set up by the senior faculty who were locked into a grammar-translation and intensive reading approach to language learning. In addition, many trainees were uncertain of their English and so not secure enough to move away from the prescribed teaching approach (to the extent that this would even be possible). Close analysis of familiar texts was something they could do over and over again with confidence, without stretching their English beyond their limits. Most trainees were, therefore, unwilling to innovate. While some may have been interested in new methodologies, most greeted them with, "We can't use that in China. The students won't like it; the senior faculty won't like it." As a consequence, the trainees felt a pressure to get as much information as possible which would help them with intensive reading: vocabulary, definitions of literary idioms, and complex parsing. The program was affected by this conflict because at times students felt that they were saddled with a great block of time and subject matter for which they saw little need, and in which they showed little interest.

Limited Teacher Training

A related constraint was the limited background most teachers had in language teaching theory and techniques. Most language teachers in China are chosen to be teachers because they have a talent for language and most of their formal education consists of training in the language. Most learn to teach on the job, following the model of senior faculty (e.g., the teacher as an authority figure who uses a combination of grammar-translation, memorization and repetition of pattern sentences). A survey of linguistics or methodology was, therefore, difficult to construct, since each concept was completely new to the students and had to be explained in extremely simple terms. Goals originally outlined by the administration had to be scaled down considerably.

Program Description: A Few Words

Considering the program goals and the constraints, we developed a semi-intensive program consisting of three major components: theory, skills development, and culture. These were divided into 14 hours per week: 10 in skills classes with instructors, 2 in formal lectures and 2 in culture lectures and films. The program gradually evolved into an integrated skills approach. Each teacher taught his/her own class of students, drawing on all available material (the material from lectures and reading work were used as a basis for speaking and writing activities, and so forth; cf., Appendix I).

In keeping with the program goals outlined above, we attempted to move these advanced students as close to native-speaker proficiency as possible, given the time factor and relevant constraints. In each skill we had to ask ourselves what might constitute "native-speaker proficiency"—what could native speakers do that these students could not; what was missing from our students' language abilities? These questions formed the guidelines for structuring our skills classes.

Implications

What we have described so far is just one program in a particular environment—what was involved in its planning and organization, and what constraints affected its execution. The task remaining is to see how our experiences, and this analysis of them, can be extrapolated into a broader context of EFL programs in China generally.

The first implication to be noted, specifically with regard to our program, is that certain techniques were quite effective. Extensive use of group-work, speed reading work, and problem-solving tasks, when well organized and regularly used, all worked well. The students themselves commented that they gained the most satisfaction from completing a fairly rigorous expository writing program.

The second implication to be noted is that the program, as a whole, was effective in meeting the goals set out at the beginning. Most importantly, this suggests something about the problem of developing teacher-training programs in China; that is, a skills development approach to teacher training is a viable, if not preferable, means for introducing acceptable teaching ideas and innovations.

The usual model for teacher training programs—of demonstrations, workshops, lectures on methodology and applied linguistics, curriculum development, materials design, etc.,—as the main focus of the program was not in line with the needs of the participants. The alternative of also using a full scale skills development program to teach methodology proved to work well (for discussion see Cowan, *et al.*, 1979; Patrie and Daum, 1980; Grabe and Mahon, 1981). In skills classes we used materials and techniques that trainees could see were productive and which they could use with their students. Our class discussions and lectures focussed on further applications of techniques that students may not have discovered on their own and on how to use techniques with lower level students. While the techniques we used were not unusual or revolutionary by U.S. EFL standards (group work, strip stories, etc.), they were new to the trainees, and for the trainees to experience them as a student had a valuable effect.

Though Chinese teachers will listen to explanations of new techniques and methods, they will not seriously consider using them unless they have proven to themselves that these techniques and methods will work, and can see the possibility of incorporating them into their traditional framework. Any teacher-training program in China will have to offer specific practical techniques and demonstrate their potential for success. Nothing new will be accepted by means of anything less than this approach.

The third implication to be noted follows directly from the problem-centered nature of our presentation. As we have argued earlier, no program can adequately plan its curriculum only in terms of internal linguistic/pedagogical considerations. There must also be some sort of organized data relating to the external constraints facing programs. We see the format of this presentation, or one similar to it, which discusses the non-curricular problems, as a way to collect the relevant information. If an agreed upon format can be established, and a number of programs reported on, then a comparative data base for the sorts of "unpredictable" problems will be available for future program planners (Grabe, 1982).

The final implication of our experiences, and one pointed toward by our analysis of constraints, is that China will have to reassess its English language teaching policies if it hopes to use English more efficiently for modernization goals. Similarly, Chinese and foreign EFL program planners should be aware of the relation between English and the Four Modernizations to plan more effectively. The latest official English policy statements, from the Dalian Conference (Foreign Language, 1982), show that the Chinese higher administration has yet to articulate a clear EFL policy with respect to its modernization needs. What this suggests is that some sort of language-in-education policy planning is needed to articulate the proper relationship between English and the needs of China. This will require at least the following:

1) A needs assessment (relating English to the Four Modernizations).
2) A detailed description of the current state of affairs of EFL.
3) A detailed description of current language policies.
4) A study of language-in-education policies in other countries with comparable modernization goals.
5) A study of the relationship between language-in-education policies and overall language policies in China, and a definition of this relationship in order to plan a coherent policy for EFL.

With a coherent policy articulated, an efficient set of guidelines for EFL curricula can be designed, as can, in turn, a productive teacher training policy and guidelines. The real answer, then, to EFL program design in China, in terms of significant improvement, necessarily involves some sort of language planning work. Without this work, EFL and teacher training programs in China will not be utilized effectively, regardless of the sophistication of planning internal to the curriculum.

For the most part this report has been critical, discussing the sorts of constraints affecting EFL programs in China. It is easy to be critical of EFL and teacher training programs in China. What is a more important issue to address, however, is how to work towards constructive resolutions. We feel that a clearer articulation of English language policy vis-a-vis the Four Modernizations, a greater sensitivity to the actual and perceived needs of teacher trainees, and the use of systematic problem-centered reports, may allow for more effective EFL teaching and teacher training in China in the future.

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Appendix I

A brief overview of the teacher training program at the Shanghai Foreign Languages Institute, 1980-1981.

Program Schedule: Monday. Tuesday, Thursday, Friday—9-12. Classes initially divided into speaking, reading, writing classes. Each teacher had their own class and individual skill classes which tended to merge into an integrated skills approach. Formal lectures were on Tuesday, Thursday from 2-3. Monday, Friday afternoons for culture lectures, movies.

Materials: Fulbright supplied us with texts for all our students. We also had our own ditto machine and thermofax copier.

Lectures: Topics covered included: Intro to Linguistics, First language acquisition, Second language acquisition, Teaching methods, Teaching the four skills, Testing, Curriculum issues, Cultural contrasts between English and Chinese.

Films and Culture lectures: ICA supplied a variety of films through the embassy. Films include fine arts culture, geographically descriptive topics, and EFL topics. Culture lectures included topics such as; credit cards, insurance, mobility in U.S. society, getting a job, living alone, etc.

Writing: We used Robert Bander's, *American English Rhetoric*, as the core text. We each had a variety of additional material to supplement and extend the instruction. Students wrote an essay a week on the average, covering all the basic expository patterns. Writing topics usually evolved out of readings and discussions.

Reading: We developed a reading fluency program combining reading skills work with speed reading work. On the average students went from 110 wpm to 190 wpm. Students also read modern "bestsellers" that we supplied. Students were encouraged to read a book every week. We also required current events reading from *Time*, *Newsweek*, and the *International Herald Tribune* every week.

Listening/Speaking: We included dictation and note taking, as well as note taking from Voice of America broadcasts. They were often asked to give spontaneous oral presentations and to prepare discussion questions. Students discussed readings, culture topics and EFL related issues. Techniques included much group work, values clarifications, problem solving tasks, strip stories, etc.

Testing: We tested and evaluated students on arbitrary sliding scales. This was done to ease the anxiety factor since the scales were relatively difficult to interpret in order to rank students.

Appendix II

Love

Love is a warm feeling residing in a human being. This feeling can swell or shrink under provided circumstances and it may vary considerably in different situations.

Superficially, the word 'love' is always associated with such a fantastic, touchy and blood-stirring picture: A young man and a young woman are wandering down a meandering path in a park, arm in arm; or excited, they are staring into each other's eyes, murmuring with convulsed mouths something like this cliche "I love you." Then one agglutinates the other and finally the two are merged into one entity.

In theory this emotional behavior is based on certain foundations. As a commonly-accepted Chinese saying goes, "There is no groundless love, neither is hatred." A girl may be fond of a man only for the simple reason that he is rich, or handsome, or intelligent, or hardworking, or diligent, or warm-hearted. Each of these qualities may produce in her an affectionate feeling toward the man, or the other way round.

Yet the real concept of love is far more than the good relationship between the opposite young sexes..........

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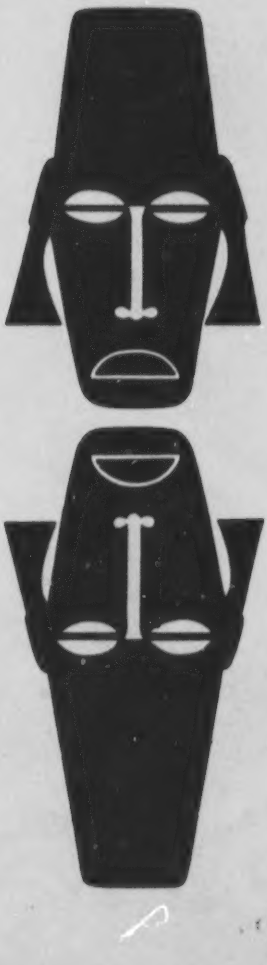
II. CHALLENGING ASSUMPTIONS



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My View of Teaching Languages: A Way and Ways

Earl W. Stevick

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When Mark Clarke first invited me to speak to you today on my view of *A Way and Ways*, I resisted rather strongly. As the months went by, however, reviews and other reactions continued to come in. Some of them were so different from one another that it was hard to believe they were about the same book. Where one person said "exasperating," another said "puts down clearly and sensitively what we English teachers have been grappling with"; where one person found parts of the book "narcissistic," a compatriot remarked that "it is reassuring, if rare, to find someone willing to allow so many strands of his thinking life to influence . . . his professional concerns."; one person's "pop psychology" was evidently the source of another's "new insights"; where some found "mysticism," one reader mused that "the battleground between the Grand Inquisitor and the Prisoner, and the tension between the Arcadian and the Utopian, are right inside my skin, at least in my mind." In view of these sharply contrasting perceptions, I decided that it might after all be worth a bit of your time and mine to set forth my own understanding of *A Way and Ways*.

When I began to work on *A Way and Ways* in 1977, I had already spent 28 years of my life in language teaching. In writing the book, I was trying to put into the hands of other teachers the best from what I had found during those years: what I had seen and done, but also my best guess about how the things that I had seen and done fitted with each other—not only how they fitted with each other, but also how they fitted into life outside the classroom.

By writing in this way, and with this plan, I gave birth—and that was what it felt like, in spite of what I said in *Memory, Meaning and Method*[1], that was what it felt like, giving birth—I gave birth to a book which was unlike the methods books that I had read. They, it seemed to me, began with what the author knew, then told me what to do, and how and why. I might think that what the author said s/he knew came from what s/he had seen and done, but I never knew just how it came—whether straight, or bent, drawn out of shape by the pull of lore from other fields, or by what the author needed to believe would work. In these same books I found no expressed doubts, no record of failures. Practices followed from principles, and principles were thought to be true for everyone. (Who, after all, would bother to write a book on principles only part-time true?)

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[1] "I personally feel toward research very much as I feel toward motherhood: I am in favor of it, I respect it, I hate to think where we would be without a certain amount of it; but I am biologically unequipped to perform it." (Stevick 1976, 106)

Those books did good things for me—three good things, to be exact. First, they gave me easy faith, and that faith gave me confidence, and that confidence came through to my students and gave them faith in me and in my methods, and their faith let them learn more easily.

Second, these books gave me company—they allowed me to feel less alone—left me with the sense that I was working side by side with all the others who had read and who believed.

Third and perhaps not least, of course, they gave me many good techniques.

These were the methods books. Many of them were good methods books. But I did not set out to write a methods book. *A Way and Ways* contains techniques, and step-by-step procedures, to be sure. But as I explained in the opening pages, these were included primarily as a means of keeping my guesses as to what accounts for success and failure in the learning and teaching of languages in touch with reality. More important than the things I told about was how they fit together.

Well, all right. I suppose I can't deny that in *A Way and Ways* I had some hope of helping teachers to do faster, and more fully what they set out to do. I will happily own that I am glad when I hear of someone who has taken one of my best-beloved techniques and used it with success. So there is after all something of a methods text in this book of mine. I still say, though, that mine is so unlike most of the others that it doesn't deserve the name. Look at the four steps that follow after one another whenever one teacher writes for other teachers.

First, the author must have had some experiences. Second, from these experiences and from other sources, the author makes a set—often a system—of inferences. The author sees these inferences, and writes them, either as a theory or as principles or as general precepts, or as some combination of these. This is on the level of what Ed Anthony, (1963) called "approach." Third, on the level of what Anthony called "technique," the author provides a number of procedures which are consistent with the theory or principles or general precepts. A matched set of such techniques, all consistent with a single approach, make up what Anthony means by "method."

The last of the four steps is what the reader does after reading what the author had to say, adopting, adapting or rejecting.

In a proper methods text, the reader most of all meets the author's prescriptions. This is at the third step. These are stated in the third person, either in the general present tense or with a modal: "The teacher models the pronunciation of each sentence," or "The teacher should point to each item as the students name it." The reader of such a text also finds more or less discussion of theory and principles. The author's own experiences, however, and whatever else about the author led him or her to choose those inferences and adopt those principles—these things are usually far in the background or missing altogether.

In *A Way and Ways*, the experiences themselves are recounted rather fully. This is particularly true in chapters 5, 6, 11-17, and 19, which consist almost entirely of experiences either of my own or of other teachers. Where records of student reactions were available, I included them. Not all of these reactions were favorable, not all of my experiences were successful, and there were a few of them that I frankly did not understand.

By preserving these experiences relatively intact, I hoped that I would engage the reader not only at the fourth and last step of the series that I outlined a moment ago, but also at the second step—at the step of making inferences. My intention was that in reading about what I had done, other teachers would find that their own range of experience had been broadened, even though only vicariously. They would thus have new raw material for drawing their own conclusions and for testing whatever principles they had been following before they came upon my work.

Most of the techniques that I described in *A Way and Ways* were left in the first person singular of the past tense, often with further details of time, place and circumstance. I hoped that by writing them up in this way I would remind my readers that my classes were unlike their classes, and so I would reduce the chance that they would try to copy blindly with their own students the exact procedures that on some occasion I had used with mind. In **passing along** my own experiences, I tried to give others something to work on, or to work from, but not to follow.

Looking back at *A Way and Ways* two years after publication, I think it may make a few practical contributions to the language teaching profession. As I see it, it also raises a few practical issues within the profession. In addition, it seems to have raised an impractical issue or two. Let me take these up in that order: the practical contributions, the practical issues, and finally a few words about the impractical issues.

Practical Contributions

Of the possible practical contributions, three come to mind.

The first is the metaphor of the jungle gym, which first occurred to me while I was writing a brief column at the invitation of Francisco Gomes De Matos, for publication in his newsletter *Creativity*. Children build their muscles by climbing around in a jungle gym in any way they like, but they can do so only because the apparatus itself is both rigid and open. I compared the apparatus to the student's need to have clear goals and clear rules—what I called the need for "control."

But the benefit from a classroom activity does not come from the apparatus itself. It comes from exercise, and the exercise is motivated by the children's individual and unpredictable desires to pretend this, or to achieve that, or to demonstrate something else. I used the word "initiative" to stand for all of these motivations, and for the activity that resulted from them. My point was that "control" and "initiative" are not two ends of a single scale. That is to say, an increase in "control" by the teacher does not require that the "initiative" of the students be reduced, or vice versa. It is not even a matter of "balance." On the contrary, skillful use of "control" on the part of the teacher can both stimulate and channel student "initiative." I value the word-picture of the jungle gym because I remember the times in the past when I made too many choices for my students: which sentence to try next, or exactly how to give a set of instructions, or how to perceive a picture that I had brought to class. I remember also the times when I didn't really make very clear what goal my students were supposed to be pursuing at the moment, or what their options were in pursuing it. All too often I made both errors at once, giving too little control and monopolizing too much of the initiative.

A second possible contribution is represented by the word-picture of the art museum. A language is like a massive and precious collection of paintings, which becomes comprehensible and even fascinating as we come to notice and to understand the repeated elements and the relationship among the countless articles on display. A knowledgeable curator *can* be a great help in this respect, but only if s/he takes into account that the viewer is ready to absorb. The curator who proceeds at her/his own pace, following her/his own chain of associations and dragging the viewer along by the wrist will soon leave the viewer tired, bewildered and discouraged.

I compared the curator to a language teacher who is giving explanations. This is of course true when the teacher is the one who initiates the explanations, by scheduling a grammar lecture, for example. But it is also true when we set out to answer a student's question. What happens too often is that the question brings to our mind an area in which we have considerable knowledge—an area, moreover, which may be extremely interesting to us personally. This knowledge is flashed onto the screen of our little word processors, so to speak, and we proceed with a complete or partial readout, asking and answering questions in which the students have no interest yet. I have said that, when we do so, some of our students may become tired and bewildered. That isn't all that commonly happens, however. Frequently these same students do follow our points one at a time. They are therefore filled with admiration for our erudition. Since possession of this erudition is one thing that sets successful us off from unsuccessful them, they may assume that their lack of ability to reproduce our explanations is just one more symptom of what they have assumed all along: that unlike us they are simply not cut out for this sort of thing.

Now, I don't mean to say that one must never engage in sustained explanation of grammar. I've heard a few brilliant and rather helpful explanations over the years. I would maintain, however, that for practical purposes the quality of an explanation depends only indirectly on its exhaustiveness or its elegance. What it depends on directly is the degree to which it answers questions—verbalized or not—that are present in the students' minds at the time the explanation is given. To this end, I proposed what I call the "five-second rule." According to this rule, a teacher's reply to a question about grammar lasts no more than five seconds by the clock. If this reply still leaves students with unanswered questions, they can continue asking. Then the teacher knows for sure that s/he is working on something that is live in the student's world, rather than trying to press on them some treasured souvenirs from her/his own world. If, on the other hand, the absence of further questions indicates that the students have found out as much as they had been wondering about, that's a sign to close up the souvenir case and put it back on the shelf. I myself have often used the 5 second rule with enjoyment as well as profit. It is the procedural corrollary to the metaphor of the art museum, and part of what I hope was a second modest practical contribution of *A Way and Ways.*

Third is the so-called Islambad Procedure (p. 139f). This is a four-step technique using cuisenaire rods. In the first step of the original version, one student, called the originator, describes an area—room, house, neighborhood, city or country—which nobody else in the room has ever seen. The originator speaks one sentence at a time, and as she does so she places rods on the table to stand for what she is saying. The teacher's role in this first step is to play a person who is interested only in the facts, who checks his understanding of each sentence to be sure he understood it right, and who always speaks the target language correctly. Whenever the teacher speaks, the originator and the other students hear his correct sentences and often pick out discrepancies between what he said and what the originator said, but they do not have "mistakes" overtly called to their attention.

In the second step of this technique, the teacher summarizes all that the originator has said. In the third step, the other students take turns telling things that they remember from the first two steps. In the fourth step, they ask the originator for further information about the place. The originator replies both in words, and by placing new rods on the table.

Although it uses cuisenaire rods, the Islambad Technique obviously has nothing to do with the Silent Way. (Gattegno 1972) It is in fact based on the principles of Counseling Learning (Curran 1976) with the teacher in the first two steps giving what are essentially "counseling responses," and with its dependence on the "Security Assertion" part of Curran's basic formula. This technique also takes advantage of the simple and extraordinary physical appeal of which the rods have for many people, and of their power to concentrate attention. As you can tell, I am very fond of this technique. I nominate it as a third practical contribution of *A Way and Ways* because it has apparently received surprisingly wide and imaginative use in various parts of the world in the past few years.

Practical Issues

Let me move on now to three practical issues which the book seems to have raised. The simplest of these, and the one that to some extent underlies the other two, is the scope of what we call learning and teaching. To what extent, I asked, are learning and teaching in a classroom setting, a series of transactions which involve nothing but subject matter—nothing but words and their meanings, and structures and sentences and appropriatenesses and the like? Or, in terms that we hear frequently these days, to what extent should our goals be confined—*can* our goals be confined—to the linguistic competence and the communicative competence of our students? On the other side of this issue, to what extent can we, or should we, pay attention to how our teaching affects what in teaching and learning languages I am calling the "personal competence" of the student? "Personal competence" in this sense includes knowledge of learning techniques, but it also includes awareness of how one's own mind works through various techniques, and awareness of how one adopts or adapts techniques, and of how one deals with the emotional side effects of the study experience. It even carries over into the student's changing attitude toward the foreign culture, and toward his/her own fitness to deal with foreigners and their languages.

I can see at least three basic positions with regard to this issue. One extreme position is that we should choose to ignore personal competence, and concentrate on those transactions which will build linguistic and communicative competence. The other extreme position is that we should choose to deal also with personal competence, and even relegate the development of linguistic and communicative competence to the status of means, or vehicle, for developing the deeper kinds of personal competence. Neither of these is, I think, the position of *A Way and Ways*. The third possible position, and the one that I took there, is that to talk about *choosing* to ignore or not to ignore the matters which I have listed under personal competence is misleading. Whatever we do has its effect on our students' knowledge of techniques, and on their understanding of how their minds work, and on their pictures of themselves in a world populated mostly by foreigners. True, this effect may be either enriching or impoverishing, either stimulating or stultifying, but it *is* there regardless of whether or not we had included "personal competence" among the conscious goals of our lesson plan.

Now, in this last paragraph I have used some words with heavy connotations. After all, who among us would not want to think of our teaching as stimulating and enriching, or who would be willing to be called stultifying and impoverishing? Then doesn't this third position, that one cannot choose to exclude one's effects on personal competence, really lead right back to the second position, that a teacher ought to concentrate on personal competence?

Again, the answer which *A Way and Ways* gives to this question is no. It is certainly true that the book consists largely of explorations in the identification and development of personal competence in students of foreign languages. I have no reason to deny that. It is in fact one of the most important characteristics of the book as I see it. But at two very important points, one in chapter 2 and one in the last chapter (293), the book warns against blind and uncritical adoption of this position—what one might call "whole-hog humanism"—just because the principles have a nice moral sheen to them.

One of the practical consequences of this issue is to be found in the way we design our control over what our students do, and in the kinds of initiative that we make available to them. Another practical consequence will show up in how we react to our students' efforts—whether we allow them (or force them) to feel that they themselves are being evaluated along with their words every time they open their mouths, or whether we convey personal support and encouragement even when we are also transmitting the message that a mistake has been made. *A Way and Ways*, of course, opts for the latter.

A second and related practical issue is how much importance we need to attach to the nonverbal behavior of the teacher. I am referring here not to gestures which signal such messages as "listen" or "repeat" or "form a question" or "close your books," but to behavior so subtle that it usually escapes the attention of students and teacher alike—fine shadings of voice or of facial expression or of body posture that are consistent with such thoughts as, "I'm enjoying working on this with you," or "I'm being patient" or "I think you may find this interesting," or "Now try to do this so I can tell you how you did."

One extreme position on this issue is that if the class is well conducted in a technical sense, students are not appreciably affected by the subliminal messages which are carried by their teachers' nonverbal behavior, and that if they are, they shouldn't let themselves be. I suppose the opposite extreme position would be that good "vibes" count for everything and that good planning and execution on the supraliminal and linguistic level count for nothing. The position of *A Way and Ways* is that subliminal signals of one kind or another are always present, and that they are much more important than most teachers usually suppose, but that both supraliminal and subliminal signals are necessary. To quote from chapter 8, "the words are the precise lines of a fine pen, but the nonverbal communication is the surface on which they are drawn," and, I would add, the background against which they are interpreted. In taking this position, *A Way and Ways* gave more attention and more importance to nonverbal signals than most methods books have done, but did not take the extreme position that nothing else matters.

I have already mentioned the importance of the ways in which a teacher exercises control in the classroom, and indicated that the sorts of initiative which the teacher solicits or accepts from students vary across a wide range. These two words, "control" and "initiative," are among the items with the largest number of entries in the index of *A Way and Ways*. Clearly there is no certain rule to prescribe just how much control one should exert in a given situation, or what range of student initiatives one should welcome.

If we assume that in any given situation there is an optimum point somewhere between the extremes of complete control and zero control, then the line that connects these optimum points as we move from one situation to another (or from moment to moment within a single situation) is a fine one. At any given moment we are off that line on one side or another. As if walking *this* line were not difficult enough, there is an equally fine line with respect to our management of student initiative. A third practical issue which *A Way and Ways* addresses is therefore, "If we must fall off of these lines in one direction or the other, which direction should it be?"

I'm not quite sure just how *A Way and Ways* stacks up against the methods books as far as the control line is concerned. I would guess that its net *effect* on readers is to encourage them to experiment with some of the looser systems of control. I would point out to you, however, that the book itself nowhere speaks in favor of weak control on the part of the teacher. Quite the contrary, in fact. In preparing this discussion I checked all 21 of the index references to control. All of them portrayed it as something good, something which should be clear, something which should not be undermined.

With regard to the question of optimum student initiative, the net effect/and one of the intentions of *A Way and Ways* was to explore and encourage a wider range than some methods books have done. At the same time, however, it points out (page 289) the punishment that awaits the teacher who ventures too far in this direction.

There is of course a fourth practical issue, one which subsumes all that I have mentioned up to now. It is an issue that we all know well—how best to teach a foreign language. There was a time, as some of us remember, when language consisted of patterns, and patterns were built up from contrasts, and learning (we thought) came from making those contrasts part of how we heard and saw the world, and from converting the patterns into automatic habits. Teaching, in turn, consisted of exposing people to sets of sentences which, to be sure, had meaning, but which were chosen mostly for the patterns that they illustrated. This I will call the "step-by-step approach" in teaching.

More recently we hear about how methods in which patterns and sequences of patterns are all but forgotten. Emphasis in these new methods is on exposing students to large masses of material which are true to life, and which are deeply meaningful for them. Under these circumstances, it is thought, students will naturally absorb much of what they might otherwise have learned through pattern drills, but will also pick up many things too subtle and too elusive to be displayed in drills. Students do not learn logical step by logical step. They learn rather by walking a long time *in step with* some speakers of the language.

Now, clearly there is no need to follow either of these two approaches exclusively. I think that most and perhaps all of us would agree that there is value in each of them. Very probably neither is sufficient by itself. Nowadays, however, I think it is safe to say that we are recognizing more and more the value of prolonged exposure to material which is extensive and detailed, and closely tied to real and relevant human interaction—what I will call the "in-step" approach in teaching.

Let's look now at *A Way and Ways* in these terms. *A Way and Ways*, as I see it, is an attempt to apply this "in-step" approach to teacher training. The other—the "step-by-step"—approach, which lists clear procedure after clear procedure, certainly has its merits. It is in fact the one that I have followed in Teaching and Learning Languages. (Stevick 1981) It is not, however, the one I followed in *A Way and Ways*. On one scale, *A Way and Ways* contains a series of extensive and detailed examples, long enough and fully enough described so that the reader has an opportunity to fall into step with me or with one of the other teachers whose work was included. This explains the number of examples. It also explains the amount of detail which was included, particularly in the two chapters on experiences in Honolulu. I remember that while I was writing those two chapters they seemed interminable. I hope that not *too* many readers formed the same impression of them, but I did feel that to have edited further the data that were available to me would have changed the chapters from a record of experience, and turned them into an illustrated statement of my conclusions *from* that experience.

On another scale, *A Way and Ways* is not a series of examples, but a single example. The limited scope of any one of the individual narratives placed limits on its comprehensiveness, and on its depth. The lack of comprehensiveness could to some extent be remedied by providing many narratives of various kinds, but increasing the number of narratives had no effect on depth. I hope that this element was supplied by some of the autobiographical material, presented as part of the "in-step" approach to teacher training. My purpose was of course *not* that readers should march in lockstep with me for the rest of their lives. It was only that, as the saying goes, by "walking 300 pages in my moccasins," readers would add to their stock of vicarious experiences and so pick up things which they could hardly have gotten through the "step-by-step" approach.

This explains several features of the book. For example, the first line of the preface[2] was not, as I see it, a burst of extravagant sentimentality. It was rather—again, as I see it—a fairly laconic and restrained reference to a nearly catastrophic personal experience which began shortly before the book was conceived and which continued until after the manuscript had been delivered to the publisher, and for which I could at the time foresee no happy outcome. Other examples of autobiographical material included on this same basis are the account of my blunder in "counseling without a contract" (p. 105), and my question about whether the ability to give understanding depends on a firsthand experience of the need for understanding (p. 107), and the stories of my unsuccessful attempts to get further into certain languages (ch. 10), and the sketch of what awaits the teacher who will not follow the Grand Inquisitor (p. 289).

Impractical Issues

Having said this—having looked at a few practical contributions and having pointed out a few practical issues—I'd like to go on and take up what maybe I should call an "impractical issue." I would like to spend a few minutes examining the place of *A Way and Ways* in relation to the tension so evident these days between what we might call the "rational stance" and the "non-rational stance." Although I have called this an "impractical issue," I suspect that it has been and will be a large one for some readers of *A Way and Ways*.

The tension that I am talking about is expressed by Henry Fairlie in a recent column:

> "Psychology, apparently the most modern of 'sciences,' especially in its popular forms, has made people place too much emphasis on the *irrational*. It has weakened our confidence in the capacity of *reason* to help us order our lives. It has made us look inward for answers, rather than outward to our societies."

Tom Shales, the television critic for the same newspaper, echoes the same concern.

> "Thinking is not mentioned...much [on television]. No, thinking is hardly mentioned at all, because it takes initiative and intelligence to think, and none to feel. . . . If people are asked what they think—it does happen—what they're usually being asked for is their opinion, which can be a product of their feelings, rather than any kind of rational conclusion reached through *logic or deduction*. . . . [This] attitude has permeated American culture to an impressive if dismaying degree. . . . Madison Avenue has adopted and circulated feelspeak with a vengeance."

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[2] The first stanza of the Preface reads:

If I am soon to die,
Then I must give you this book now.
It will be a stone on which is written
All that is left of me.

I quote Fairlie and Shales here because I suspect that something of the same concern may lie behind the fact that no fewer than three reviewers have used either the word "mystical" or the word "mysticism" about parts of *A Way and Ways*. I must confess that these words both surprised me and dismayed me. They surprised me because as I have already pointed out, I thought that I was providing a large proportion of unprocessed experiential data, and my intent was "to see things as they are, and to write about them with clinical objectivity." (288)

The words "mysticism" and "mystical" also dismayed me a bit. I'm not sure how readers of the reviews were affected by these words. The reviewers may have meant only that the book occasionally relates the teaching of languages to something which lies beyond the range of a purely reductive explanation, or that the book contains certain guesses which cannot be disproved by reason alone, or that the book explores a reality—an unknown reality—beyond the reality that most people know and talk about, and that it maintains a reverence for the unknown that it explores. Something like that. And that is perhaps what they had in mind. Some people may use the word "mystical" in that way.

If that was in fact what the reviewers meant, however, I wish they had said it in that way, instead of using the words they used, because for me at least, "mystical" and "mysticism" carry certain undesirable emotional connotations. To me, these words applied to a professional book seem to say that the author is starry-eyed, if not half-mad, and to imply that s/he is unwilling to test his or her conclusions against experience—someone dogmatic, solipsistic. So Henry Fairlie, in the above quotation sets in contrast to "confidence in the capacity of reason to help us order our lives" the word "irrational." He does not contrast with "irrational" the word "non-rational," though it seems to me that the latter is a better description of what the field of psychology has been learning about in recent decades. It is as though the "mystical," or the "intuitive," or the "poetic" were seen as lying at the far end of some spectrum of which the near end consists of logical, rational, deductive and disprovable thought. For me, however, the fundamental contrast is not there. It is rather between the irrational on the one hand, and the rational *and* the nonrational on the other. The irrational is unwilling or unable to test its findings against further reality; it declares truth rather than seeking it. Both the rational and the nonrational, by contrast, are paths toward truth, and their findings are subject to confirmation or disconfirmation by further thought and further experience. They differ between themselves in two respects. Most obviously, they differ in method, and that difference needs no further comment here. Second, they differ in the size and nature of the matters which they most characteristically investigate. Specifically, the nonrational may concern itself with phenomena which are too large to measure and compare, such as historical epochs, or with matters which are too subtle for measurement, such as values. Errors in the realm of the rational are found through syllogism and controlled experiment, publicly, by a thinker who remains personally uninvolved with what is being thought about. Errors in the realm of the nonrational are uncovered—and they *are* sometimes uncovered—through experience, often privately, by an actor who is deeply, sometimes inextricably committed to the formulation being tested. I regard *A Way and Ways* as a book which is occasionally "mystical" in this latter sense, though again I would myself prefer a term like "nonrational" or "intuitive." I do not see *A Way and Ways* as a book which either exemplifies or tolerates the irrational.

There is one more point that may be worth clarifying. Some people have commented to me favorably on the degree to which they felt that *A Way and Ways* states clearly and sensibly a number of ideas which in the writings of the originators of the three unconventional methods were felt to be excessively obscure or dogmatic. Now, I will not deny that I find myself personally encouraged by such comments on my writing. Not long ago, however, I came across a few sentences by Gertrude Stein, which I think cast light on the relationship between a book like *A Way and Ways* and the authors whose works it interprets. She said:

> "You always have in your writing the resistance outside of you and inside of you, and the thing which you must express. In the beginning of your writing, this struggle is so tremendous that the result is ugly; and this is the reason why the followers are always accepted before the person who made the revolution. The person who has made the fight probably makes it seem ugly, although the struggle has the much greater beauty. But the followers die out; and the man who made the struggle and the quality of beauty remains in the intensity of the fight. Eventually it comes out all right, and you have this very queer situation which always happens with the followers: the original person has to have in him a certain element of ugliness. You know that is what happens over and over again—the statement made against me for the last twenty years. And they are quite right, because it *is* ugly. But the essence of that ugliness is the thing which will always make it beautiful."

In my view, this quotation applies to the relationship between *A Way and Ways* and the books to which it makes most frequent reference.

And that is the last of the points that I wanted to make. Let me take just three more minutes for a summary of the theme, the strategy and the tactic of this book as I see it. Its title is *Teaching Languages: A Way and Ways*, but its theme is teaching languages as a matter of psychological—and occasionally even physical—life or death. Its strategy for being of use to teachers is to help them to grow in their own "personal" competence, as distinct from linguistic competence or technical competence. Its chief tactic is to explain the ideas of a series of original thinkers—Ernest Becker (1968, 1973, 1975) and others—both through reasoned description and through word pictures, and to follow these explanations with examples drawn from life. The last chapter was intended to pull together the contents of the book at a still deeper level. I hoped that my readers would come away from that chapter with fuller insight into what is at stake when one tries to put into practice principles like the ones I had described earlier in the book. The heart of the book is not "ways"—not the three "ways" about which I wrote. It is rather the "way"—*my* way—of looking *at* those ways.

So, my friends and fellow members of TESOL '82, we are here together for a short time in a world that we will never fully understand. In this world we can get one kind of knowledge and we can learn some skills, but we all too seldom see beyond the knowledge or behind the skills to what they stand on and to where they lead. Yet without this seeing—without this knowledge about knowledge—the first kind of knowledge is itself of little worth. Knowledge of what is beyond knowledge, and skill at handling what lies behind skills—these we must get, each of us, as best we can. *One* way to get at them is by looking through the eyes of others. Therefore in my book I have put into your hands something of myself: where I have been, what I have seen, ways I have found through or around what I have come up against. I've put this in your hands, with all its flaws and all its unevenness, not first of all to teach you skills, and only a little because I wanted you to know about the thoughts of Becker, Gattegno, Curran and Lozanov. What I mostly hoped that you would do with it was borrow, if you wished, some light to find your own new paths around or through whatever you yourselves day after day come up against. Take what you can.

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"I Got Religion!": Evangelism in TEFL

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Introduction

To avoid misunderstanding, I wish to clarify my standpoint from the outset. This is not a criticism of any approach or method 'per se'. For the purposes of this paper, I am less interested in the way a given approach functions methodologically than in the fact that it exists at all. Also in the way in which certain, if not all, approaches develop along a roughly similar path of evolution, and share certain characteristics. In other words, this paper is more concerned with the sociology of methodology than with its pedagogy.

Second, I have drawn an analogy between the process and practices of religion and those of some methodological approaches. This is purely for convenience and should not be taken literally. No one is suggesting that teachers literally seek salvation in this way—though some I have known come perilously close to it.

This leads me to my third point, which is that, although there are analogies to be drawn between the nature and complexity of life/existence and the nature and complexity of learning and teaching, they are emphatically *not the same*. Put in its crudest form, I suppose what I am saying is that there are more important things in life than TEFL, and that anyone who becomes too closely bound up with TEFL risks adding an emotive supercharge to what is only one part of the life experience. I quote from a recent letter sent to me by a friend who is into psycho-something-or-other approaches. "I had a fantastic success: out of a dozen participants, I had one woman burst into tears, one throwing up and at least one virtually falling head over heels in love with me—raving mad—you see the type. Well, I declare, teachers are an odd lot, and I'd rather deal with 100 students than 10 teachers."

Learning and teaching involve stressful situations. But so do getting a mortgage, looking for work, crossing the road, sharing a flat, having a baby, going to hospital and so on. We are perhaps in danger of over-emphasizing the threat inherent in learning situations, and forgetting that, for most learners, such situations are embedded in a matrix of other equally, or more, important concerns. The degree of importance accorded to the threat of learning in the States perhaps reflects an important cultural difference between Europe and America. It would seem to most Europeans to be an exaggeration to speak of "laying one's life on the line" whenever engaging in a foreign language interaction. Perhaps we in Europe are inured to the hostility of the other. Our ways of dealing with other people are perhaps more clinical, less personalized. This is not to make a value judgment on the more participatory interpersonal type of event, but simply to draw attention to the fact that not everywhere do folk attribute equal importance to such events.

The Problem

Let us now look briefly at the complexity of learning a foreign language. I feel particularly well equipped to do this just now as I have been locked in unequal combat[1] with Mandarin Chinese for over a year. It is sobering sometimes to think of just how many interlocking and simultaneous psychological and physiological processes are involved. The need to recognize and reproduce comprehensibly the phonemic, stress and formal features of another system; to hold incomplete sequences in short term memory for long enough to make sense of them or to formulate chains of sound rapidly enough to interact before the discourse has moved on; to coordinate phonetic, syntactic and lexical systems simultaneously in what may be quite stressful circumstances; and to commit to long term operational memory a multiplicity of rules and meanings. All of this, leaving aside the problem of an alien script, is a Herculean task for the learner. But perhaps even more so for the teacher, who is aware of just how complex and mammoth a job it is, and who has, additionally, to cope with the problems of dealing simultaneously with these factors in a number of learners who are all different.

Faced with this complexity, teachers quite naturally look for convenient solutions. These may take the form:

a) Of avoidance behavior, simply refusing to recognize that there is a problem: "I give them the basics," or "Pronunciation is what I concentrate on," or "If they have the grammar rules then they can make up their own sentences," or "What we need is the grammatical framework....."

b) Of abdication of responsibility to a published text book: "I use *Kernel*. It seems to be very systematic." or "I swear by *Communicate*. It's the best there is."

c) Of making eclectic decisions based on the range of choices available to solve a given set of learning problems: "None of these materials seem wholly satisfactory, but I use X for the listening part, supplemented by some of my own material. Then I use Y as a self study unit....."

d) Of seeking salvation from someone who seems to offer a way to the Promised Land: The fascination that such figures or movements exert is phenomenal.[2]

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[1] This surely reflects an "incorrect" attitude.

[2] To cite one example, my colleague, Alan Duff several years ago wrote an article entitled "The Use of the Telephone Directory in Language Learning." This was written up dead pan in an

It is then this last process, the flight to the enchanter (to misquote Iris Murdoch) which we shall be looking at.

The Birth of a Method

The effect of naming is magical. Once a thing has been named, a wall has been built around it which sets it apart and distinguishes it from other things with other names. (This may seem a truism, but the act of naming does change one's viewpoint as Monsieur Jourdan discovered in 'Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme' "*Vous faites de la prose sans le savoir*") So it is with methodological approaches. Once named, they seem to take on an independent existence, which to some extent at any rate, removes them from the control of their creators, and dispenses those who use the name from any but the simplest of referential relationships (e.g. Einstein *is* Relativity, Freud *is* Psychoanalysis, Newton *is* Gravity—Gattegno *is* Silent Way, Curran *is* CCL, Lozanov *is* Sugggestopaedia, Wilkins *is* Functions, Krashen *is* the Monitor Model).

The approach gathers about it a ritual set of procedures, a priesthood (complete with the initiatory courses necessary to license practice) and a body of holy writ and commentary. As crystallisation progresses, the number of those who have invested their belief in it increases, and room for manoeuvre is narrowed. To survive, it is necessary to claim that the approach offers comprehensive answers to the problems, yet, given the complexity of the variables involved, it is clear that such answers do not exist. Seen from outside, the problem then is that the process of dialogue is inhibited. If discussion can only take place on the terms bounded by a given set of beliefs, then true dialogue cannot occur. Cross fertilizing dialogue is precluded, as in the religion of Marxism, since the system is internally self defining and not susceptible to arguments which come from without.

With naming, then, there is a hardening of the intellectual arteries, a creation of a sort of orthodoxy which it becomes necessary to defend or justify. In this respect these approaches partake somewhat of the characteristics of religious movements.

They present a *reductionist view*, in which salvation is made available upon the surrender of critical judgement. Such views reduce the true complexity of a problem by offering a set of procedures for the practitioner to follow. While it is true that things are simpler than they are often made out to be, it is true that they are also, and simultaneously, a great deal more complex than we often allow. This is one of the great paradoxes of life. Approaches which focus on a reduced view of the problems are invidious because they divert attention away from more complex and subtle factors which might interfere with the neatness of their own solutions.

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acceptable style and published in a journal in France. It was, of course, a complete send up. He nevertheless received a number of letters from enthusiasts wanting to know more about this new approach. We are all, I suppose, infinitely suggestible. For those interested in more recent developments in the art of spoof I recommend the article by Michael Swan and Catherine Walter entitled "The Use of Sensory Deprivation in Foreign Language Learning".

This goes along with a fairly *authoritarian streak*. As I have already pointed out, the act of naming isolates and makes it necessary to defend the fortress of faith against others. If others are right, we must be wrong, and we are *not* wrong. (I have seen very little propensity to engage in constructive dialogue between the kinds of approaches I have in mind. A glance at the bibliographies of their seminal works is sufficient. They contain only confirming instances).

One also notes a *tendency to exclusivity*. Just as one cannot set up as a Roman Catholic priest without undergoing the period of indoctrination called for by the orthodoxy, so it is not possible to do CLL (or *Silent Way or Suggestopaedia*) without the imprimatur of those who decide what CLL is. The 'reductio ab absurdem' of this is that an approach is what those licensed to exercise it say it is. We should not be surprised at this (it is, after all, the basis upon which the legal and other professions rest), but we should not neglect to note it.

They are *not open to refutation* because they define and operate within their own terms. They can assert, but they cannot prove (a point I shall refer to later in connection with the definition of science). In just the same way, religious movements are able to assert with conviction that they offer a pathway to heaven—but no one has yet returned to prove the validity of their assertions.

The fact that demonstrable proof cannot be arranged often leads to a degree of *obscurantism*. As Dr. Gattegno states in the Acknowledgements to his *The Common Sense of Teaching Foreign Languages*: "A suggestion which I could not incorporate in the text was to make the text easy to read. My style is found by many to be demanding. Perhaps this is because I write concisely and I avoid developments that readers feel they need but which do not suggest themselves to me". I have to admit that the result of such an attitude is a peculiarly rebarbative style, (and one which in places does not fit the rules of English particularly happily). Curran's works are virtually unreadable without exegesis. One can accept that new ideas are sometimes difficult to express freshly using the existing resources of the language, but there comes a point when the style becomes an obstacle rather than an aid to understanding. Much of Lozanov's prose too is masked by the terminology of pseudo science. One is reminded of Lord Rutherford's remark that it should be possible to explain one's ideas in language which even the barmaid in the local pub would understand.

In one way or another these approaches are driven to make *strong claims* for their methods. (What justification for separate existence would they have otherwise?). Hence, Gattegno claims, "Once I understand what students have to do, I am able to invent techniques and materials that help them be as good as the natives in what they are facing." Suggestopaedia makes similarly strong claims for items remembered after its courses and CLL for the depth of acquisition in its sessions. None of these claims can be substantiated in any way which would be acceptable to a researcher in the hard sciences.

The interesting thing about such movements/approaches is their concern for *scientific respectability*. But like any teaching/learning theory, they are not open to the principle of verification because the number of variables is too large to be held constant. Likewise they are not open to the Popperian criterion of falsifiability since they are not framed in such a way as to be tested. They are, scientifically speaking, neither true or false, since no adequate tests can be performed upon them. They have the status of *myth* rather than theory. This does not mean that they should be ruled out as useless since, as we shall see, they have provided considerable insights into the language learning process. It does mean however that they entail an act of faith which is more closely related to religion than to science.

Positive Insights

In case I may seem to have been indulging in negative criticism, I would wish now to emphasise some of the positive insights which such approaches have provided:

There has been a change in the roles of teacher and learner. It is now inconceivable that the teacher be regarded as sole arbiter and controller of what goes on in F.L. classrooms. The independent and individual role and status of the learner is fully accepted (if not always applied) by most theorists and practitioners.

We have come to recognize the importance of group supportiveness. There are now few approaches which do not harness the group dynamic. The group is recognized to be more than its separate components. It also offers a security system for learning.

This has led to an understanding of the importance of relaxation and the reduction of threat. There are few now who would contest the fact that we learn better when relaxed, and when not made to feel inadequate.

We also have arrived at the realisation of the hidden capacity of the human brain. Until fairly recently we were content to think that learning was an arduous and slow process. More recent approaches have shown just how much brain capacity is left unused in normal circumstances and how important the role of peripheral and subconscious learning is.

The role of *play* in learning has been enhanced. Indeed the value of the ludic function of language has been rediscovered and reapplied. Learning is no longer synonymous with solemnly serious activity.

The view of error and its correction have been greatly altered. Errors are no longer regarded as sinful but are recognized as being a necessary and systematic part of the learning process. And the resources for correction (and self correction) are much expanded.

The importance of building inner criteria has been emphasized. Fuller realisation has come about that it is the *learner* who is responsible for his own learning, and the teacher's job is to help him find his own way to do it best.

Creative silence is not now looked upon as a waste of time. We recognize the need for a period of incubation between input and output, and the need for learners to work over material internally.

The list is not complete, and not all the approaches mentioned embody all these points. However in themselves these constitute a revolution in our ways of thinking about teaching and learning, and, even if we do not subscribe to all the tenets or practices of all these approaches, we owe them collectively an enormous debt.

Contradictions

As I have already suggested however, there are a number of contradictions or inconsistencies between these various approaches. One has only to think of the carefully phased, step by step approach advocated in the *Silent Way* and the massive initial input of *Suggestopaedia* to see just how divergent these approaches can be. Likewise the emphasis on the learner as an isolated and independent striver in the *Silent Way* contrasts strongly with the comfort of the group afforded by CLL. The *Suggestopaedia* teacher would be uncomfortable with the alienation of the *Silent Way*. And the *Silent Way* teacher would be dismayed by the waste of energy involved in the group process of CLL. And one could go on drawing such contrasts.

While I think it worthwhile to point up these incompatibilities I do not think it detracts from their value as language learning paradigms (or myths!)so long that is, as no *one* of them lays claim to total truth. While it is possible for there to be different paths to the mountain of enlightenment, it is not possible to accommodate such widely divergent approaches within a scientific framework.

Recapitulation & Conclusion

My main concerns in this paper have been the description of a sociological process in methodology somewhat akin to religion, which I find fascinating, *and* the articulation, perhaps rather obliquely so far, of a worry.

Let me first recapitulate the process: a new prophet appears with a message. This is articulated in writ (books/articles) and ritual procedures (techniques), converts are gained, temples (research centres) are set up and initiation ceremonies (courses) evolved to license others in the practice of the new sect (approach). Proselytisation goes on, and differentiation from other sects is strengthened.

Now to a slightly clearer articulation of my worry. This concerns teachers, especially young teachers. I do not think one need worry about the effect of any method on learners; they are pretty resilient anyhow, and have a multitude of concerns outside the classroom which effectively insulate them from harm. Teachers by contrast tend to be constantly exposed to the stresses of their profession in a way very few others are. The temptation for them to trade in their critical faculty for the security of a system of beliefs which offers the comforting certainty that one is doing the right thing, is therefore correspondingly greater.

Over the past 20 years I have dealt with large numbers of teachers of TEFL, and the grail seekers among them have always been in the majority. Someone who is consciously or subconsciously looking for the magic method which will turn his stuttering students into golden tongued prodigies, will clearly not be too difficult to persuade that he has found it. But there is no such certainty. We know only that we do not know. "As for certain truth, no man has known it, Nor shall he know it ..... For even if by chance he were to utter the final truth, he would himself not know it". (Xenophanes) And this is as true now as it was over 2000 years ago.

This does not of course mean that we should not continue to search for better solutions—provided we always realise that they are bound to be provisional, and open to criticism. But this has to be conditional upon the exercise of independent judgment in rapidly changing circumstances. And it is this which I fear is undermined by a too ready adherence to this or that system or approach.

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Emphasizing Language: A Reply to Humanism, Neo-audiolingualism, and Notional-Functionalism

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Introduction

In the past twenty-five years, there have been three major developments that have taken place in the field of foreign language pedagogy. These changes originated in Europe and/or North America, but they diffused slowly around the world, and they are well-known to all of us who are active in TESOL. In fact, our organization has played a salubrious role in encouraging and shaping these developments, and I am pleased to see that TESOL, through its annual conventions, has continued this innovative tradition through the dissemination of new materials, new methods, and new movements. New ideas are not necessarily good ideas, but the three movements I would like to consider in this paper are generally viewed in a positive light by the vast majority of language teachers, and their very evolution and continual devolution for the past two or three decades is witness enough of their efficacy.

The three major movements to which I would like to refer are: humanism, neoaudiolingualism, and notional-functionalism. Richards and Rodgers (1982), describe the themes in somewhat different terminology, but because their description is so complete, I would like to define each movement with brief references to their paper. What I have called humanism, they refer to as the interactional view. In this approach, they see "language as a vehicle for the realization of interpersonal relations and for the performance of social transactions between individuals" (1982:156). The methodologies of Curran, Gattegno, and Lozanov come immediately to mind, as does the name of Earl Stevick, whose work has done more to advance the interactional approach then any publication I know. And language teachers are not the only ones interested in interactional methodologies. Renzo Titone, for example, has used them to develop a research perspective which he calls the "glossodynamic model" of foreign language learning.

The second approach I have labelled neoaudiolingualism but is more broadly classified as the structural view by Richards and Rodgers. This approach takes the position that, in their words, "language is a system of structurally related elements for the coding of meaning" (1982:155). An example would be the grammar-translation method, with its preoccupation with grammatical structure—specifically grammars that rewrite English as if it were a bastardized Anglicization of Latin. I would like to confine our attention, however, to one set of structural methods—those that evolved from the old audiolingual precept that listening should precede speaking. These structural approaches, which I call neoaudiolingual, are exemplified by the interesting innovations of people like Winitz (the Comprehension Method), Asher (the total Physical Response), and the Delayed Oral Production Method devised by the late Valerian Postovsky. I would call all three of these methods structural in that they focus on an aspect of the language, in this case, one of the four skills, and emphasize the saliency of listening comprehension in foreign language programs.

Besides the interactional and structural views, there is the functional or notional-functional view. This is the attitude that language is an expression of functional needs and, to quote Richards and Rodgers once more, "leads to a specification and organization of language teaching content by categories of function rather than by categories of form" (1982:155-156). One initially thinks of the important contributions of British and European applied linguists in this area, particularly in the development of materials and curricula. An excellent summary of the achievements of the functional view and a useful assessment of its role for the future is found in a paper given by Carlos Yorio, a work to which I will refer in more detail subsequently.

And so we have three perspectives: the interactional (humanism), the structural (an example of which is neoaudiolingualism), and the functional (or notional-functional), and because each has made a positive contribution to language pedagogy, my task in this paper is an arduous one—to convince you that there are serious theoretical and practical limitations to these three approaches and to argue, as persuasively as possible, for a redirection of our interests and energies away from these goals, as ends in themselves, and for a rechanneling of all three toward the goal of language. Let me begin by discussing limitations, but I want the main thrust of this paper to be in a positive direction by presenting a reincarnation of these three views in language itself, and by showing how language can be the source of interaction, function, and structure.

Limitations

I want to examine the limitations of these approaches from two different vantage points. First, I will adopt the role of an applied linguist and look at structuralism, interactionalism, and notional-functionalism as a language researcher—specifically from the viewpoint of a linguist who has been scrutinizing language acquisition for two decades. Then I'd like to look at these three approaches from the perspective of a teacher—specifically from my experience of having been an Asian teacher—someone who has grown up in China and India and who has taught languages for twenty years, almost half of that time in the Orient.

One of the theoretical limitations of humanism has been voiced by a Mark Clarke, who, in a carefully worded prolegmenon to a critique language teaching called "The tyranny of humanism," criticizes this interactional approach for its unconscious creation of an intractable situation for most language teachers. They espouse all the vague precepts of humanism, and yet they find it difficult to accept most of the practices of humanistic methodologies. As Clarke puts it:

> The current orthodoxy, however, rests on *unspoken* assumptions, with the result that one cannot easily disagree, because criteria for disagreement are not universally acknowledged or understood. The effect is that the closest a critic of 'humanism' can come is an uneasy feeling that something is not right. (Clarke:28)

A theoretical objection to neoaudiolingualism, an example of the structural viewpoint, can be based on the general findings of research in developmental psycholinguistics. Asher, Postovsky, and Winitz, three of the many proponents of listening-over-speaking, base a large measure of their approaches on two arguments: 1) that whenever practical, adult second language learning should replicate child first language acquisition, and 2) since listening comprehension appears to precede speech production in child language development, listening comprehension skills should be heavily emphasized for beginning classes of adult language students and that speaking skills should either be de-emphasized or even prohibited at the early stages. There are at least two psycholinguistic objections which can be mustered. 1) It is clear from our study of neonatal and early childhood vocalization that some form of oral language is continually evolving from the moment of birth (Fletcher and Garman, 1979), so any method is misguided if it presupposes the recapitulation of a child's first year of life by adult learners during a time which is reputably all input and little output. More importantly, 2) adults have already developed an exceedingly sophisticated system of comprehension *and* production in their native language, and given the large degree of universal overlap that obtains between any two natural languages at the phonological or syntactic level, it appears to me to be terribly inefficient not to allow adult learners to utilize what they have already learnt about speech production in their mother tongue in their attempts to produce a different phonological code in a second language.

Yorio has suggested in the address cited previously that the notional-functional model falls under theoretical criticism as well. If we consider the needs of our learners carefully, notional-functionalism works fairly well when we are talking about second language *training*, what Yorio describes as "the development of narrow, specific pragmatic language abilities" (1981:7). An example would be a Chinese agronomist in Shandong who has no intention of going to Canada or the U.S. for further study, but who is expected to be able to reach English publications in his field. On the other hand, notional-functionalism faces the "enormous, almost awesome task" (Yorio, 1981:9), when it attempts to predict and account for the multitude of situations and needs a foreign learner of English faces in a typical immigrant situation—what Yorio refers to as second language *education*—a Hmong refugee arriving in San Francisco for example. For most ESL programs therefore, the value of notional-functional syllabi is severely curtailed.

Besides these general, theoretical limitations to the three viewpoints under review, there are even more serious practical liabilities, especially when we attempt to apply these approaches to the world at large. I might add as an important aside that an international perspective must always predominate for those of us in TESOL, and we must never forget that a global view of our planet must take precedence over one that is merely provincial or national. How fitting it is to emphasize this attitude at the 1982 Annual Convention of our organization, with the world's largest ocean surrounding the conference site and with the largest and the richest nations of the earth set about the Pacific's rim. At this juncture, I speak not as an applied linguist, but as someone who was born and raised in Asia—someone who cherishes many Asian contacts and traditions. And here I speak for the students learning English at the Mary E. Chatterji Middle School for Girls in Hoshiarpur, Punjab, India; for the children at Chiengrai Wittyakhom School in northern Thailand; for the young men and women at the Teachers Training College in Jining, Shandong, China, or those enrolled at Tohoku Gakuin in Sendai, Japan. From their perspective and from the position of the great majority of English students around the world, there are many grave practical limitations indeed.

One concerns the training of teachers. Most EFL and ESL teachers are *not* native speakers of the language, and the bulk of their training, whether it is an elementary school certificate or a diploma from a full-fledged tertiary level institution, must be devoted to learning the language. It is difficult to worry about interactional approaches, structural techniques, and functional syllabi when the target language is minimally understood. Knowledge of the subject is the *sine qua non* of all teaching, and until teachers are reasonably competent in English, language learning should be their only priority.

Another practical problem is the severe economic constraints which language teachers in most countries face. Comparatively speaking, we Americans, Canadians, and Europeans are exceedingly well off. Oh yes, we complain a great deal about budget cuts, inflation, interest rates, and Reaganomics, but all of us can pass the paper clip test, my simple gauge of the economic status of any educational institution. Browse through any classroom building, keeping your eyes on the floor; if you can find a bright, shiny paper clip anywhere, it's a sure sign of affluence. I scoured the dusty floors for a year in China while I was teaching there, but to no avail, but on returning to my institutional home in the U.S., I found one in the elevator on my way up to work the first day back. A small symbol of a large disparity in education. What does this disparity spell for educational innovation in the "Third World," especially for interactional, structural, and functional approaches to language pedagogy? It means, for one thing, that we can dismiss the soft chairs and music of Lozanov's Suggestopedia; it means that we cannot produce or purchase materials with costly pictures, even the black and white line drawings of Winitz's Comprehension Method; and it means that we will garner little or no help from our nation's engineers, scientists, and physicians in developing ESP curricula for our middle school children. The economic constraints hit hardest at the very areas of education or science which language teachers and applied linguists have found most fascinating in the West. This I learnt in Thailand some years ago when I was trying to develop a diagnostic test for Thai aphasics. Let me paraphrase what one Thai neurologist said when I mentioned my disquiet over the lack of interest in my project by many of the Thai physicians I had visited. "But don't you see," he remonstrated in gentle exasperation, "aphasiology, in fact all neuropsychological disorders, are the avocation of rich men; we can barely keep up with our clinical work in neurology, let alone worry about such exotic topics as language and the brain!"

A corollary to the economic problems that beset African, Asian, Latin American, and Pacific Basin countries is the essential conservatism of these traditional societies. I am not a historian nor a sociologist, but part of the social intransigence of many "Third World" nations when facing educational reforms, whether they are nominally conservative capitalist or revolutionary socialist, is based on lack of resources. When confronted with an almost primitive question of survival, the evolutionary forces of change are not progressive, as some think, but are reactionary. As Hockett and Ascher indicate in their treatise on the evolution of human language, the fish that ultimately spawned the new wave of animals called amphibians did not develop strong pectoral muscles in order to crawl up on to land from the tidal flats in which they were suddenly trapped; rather, these ambulatory muscles evolved in order to retreat back into their home—the sea. In a similar manner, we have a natural instinct to play conservative, to preserve what we know best and love dearest, and this instinct is especially manifest in times of economic hardship. It is hard to change when there is little to change.

A final limitation in the new methods of language teaching under review is the problem of cross-cultural application. I realize that some methodologists have thought carefully about this problem—an example being Father Paul LaForge in his attempt to advocate Community Language Learning in Japan. But this is an exception. I wince at the thought of honest but unsuccessful attempts to encourage Chinese English teachers to use the Silent Way in the Peoples' Republic of China and am left with the sensation that sometimes, East *is* East and West *is* West.

A more serious example is the kind of egocentrism that I find lurking in the typically American worship of individualism. It is reflected in the following quote from Stevick's *A Way and Ways*.

> Because we are able to echo back and forth to one another both what we see now and what we remember—even what we hope for—we come to know that none of us is exactly like any other. This is one gift from language. We feel in ourselves uniqueness ("I am one of a kind") not only in our bodies but in the way we use our symbols. And with this uniqueness, beauty; beauty around us but also inside us, beauty and irreplacableness, therefore a kind of miracle. (1980:5)

This "unspoken assumption" about the importance of the individual so poetically described by Stevick is, of course, not shared by all cultures. I believe it remains the most imposing obstacle to the acceptance of an interactional perspective by Asian cultures which have been, and will continue to be, centered on the group. This Oriental belief that "I am many; I am not alone," is in distinct contrast to the high value placed on individualism in American society and must be addressed directly in an honest fashion. Trite and harsh as it may sound, we must not mistake humanism for "Americanism."

But enough of constraints and limitations. Let us look at a more important question: how can we use language as an effective medium for our messages about interactions, structures, and functions? Let me make myself very clear at this transition. I am not arguing for a neo-structuralism where we will retreat back to the old thesis that language structure is the alpha and omega of our curriculum. I am not interested in how many present participles can dance on the head of a pin! Rather, what I want to present is a combination of that traditional emphasis on language structure with interactional and functional goals—an antithesis so to speak, and from this combination form a new synthesis. This new synthesis looks forward, not backward, to focussing on language as the center of our structural emphases, language as the center of our functional goals, and language as the center of our attempts to be humanistic. And by language, I am referring to all skills and all levels—from the pettiness of a minimal pair to the power of a magnificent poem. Linguistics and literature, sounds and symbols, riddles and role plays, conversations and compositions, whatever procedures we employ, whatever approaches we embrace, language must be central. Let me offer some examples of this new synthesis for consideration.

Language as Interaction

Langague can and will reveal what is important in terms of human interactions. In fact, it is ironic that the inherent use of linguistic structures to express emotions and reactions in everyday speech is not examined more closely by proponents of humanistic methods. One does not need to resort to kinesics, proxemics, or paralanguage to deal with affective interactions in the classroom simply because there is such a wide variety of *linguistic* structures which can be used as effective expressions of our emotional needs. Part of our job as language teachers is to help our students express their emotions and understand the emotions of others through the medium of spoken and written English. One way to attain this goal is to focus on a certain lexical class of English words, a class that has grown dramatically in importance in the historical evolution of the language, and which represents, to my mind, the very heart and soul of modern English. I am speaking about prepositions. They can be incisive symbols of our feelings and intricate markers of our relationships with others. Listen to another key quote from Stevick and the marvelous manner in which he captures the essence of his interactional goals with a string of three prepositions.

> If we bring ourselves down, now, from the comprehensive viewpoint of these two philosophies, and into the relatively narrow backyard of the language teacher, we come again to the statement that what is really important is what goes *on* *inside* and *between* people in the classroom. [my underscoring] (1980:22)

Examples like this abound. Kathleen Bailey, in her contribution to a forthcoming Newbury House anthology edited by Seliger and Long, adopted a phrase from another article by Robert Ochsner and entitled her paper, "Competitiveness and anxiety in adult second language learning: looking *at* and *through* the diary studies." We get turned *on* and turned *off*. We often feel *down* and *out*, or we are *up* if we can pull something *off* but *down* if we lose *out*. A liturgical passage I came across reads, "We are more ready to put others *down* than to put ourselves *out*." A grammatical explanation is necessary for many of these prepositional examples, not just because prepositions are important syntactic agents in the grammatical chemistry of English, but also because they often combine with verbs to form multiple meanings and can only be disambiguated through grammatical exegesis. Thus, "strike out," as an intransitive phrasal verb (like the verb "go on" in the previous Stevick quote) can mean "to fail," but it means "to remove" as a transitive phrasal verb, and "to attack" as a prepositional phrasal verb. Compare the following:

1. He tried to win Marsha's affections but *struck out*.
2. Consequently, he *struck out* her name from the will he had drawn up,
3. and smoldering with love so cruelly scorned, *struck out at* her whenever they met.

One of my favorite illustrations of the power of prepositions to express emotions is something I caught on a radio talk show one evening during a discussion on alcoholism. One of the participants confessed, "It got to the point where alcohol didn't do anything *for* me, it was only doing things *to* me." And to this, we could add, "it almost did him *in*."

A more elegant example of the ability of prepositions to convey feelings in the language, especially the feelings that arise inside and between people, is a poem I remember from childhood. I'll refer to an even more impressive piece of verse in a few paragraphs, because despite the metalinguistic artificiality that underlies all poetry, there is often cohesion and coherence in good literature. It can stand independently as a self-contained text, a point Henry Widdowson convinced us of in his talk on the role of literature in language teaching at the Detroit TESOL Convention (Widdowson, 1981). But here is an insignificant poem by the nineteenth century Irish poet, William Allingham. I learnt it as a child because it was so simple, and yet this innocent little piece carries a poignancy simply through the use of colors and prepositions.

> Four ducks on a pond,
> A grass bank beyond,
> A blue sky in spring,
> White clouds on the wing;
> What a little thing
> To remember for years,
> To remember with tears.
>
> (Allingham 1967:58)

On a pond/Beyond/In spring/On the wing/ For years/With tears. That's the whole message isn't it? Prepositions—simple little words, but what powerful sentiments they convey!

Language as Structure

It may sound tautological to talk about how language can reveal what is important structurally, but if we take the neoaudiolingual emphasis on the primacy of listening comprehension skills as an example of a structural perspective on foreign language teaching, then I think we can see how language, in the very broad sense that I'm adopting, is quite different from a preoccupation with aural processing skills.

Again, I would maintain that we needn't resort to unusual classroom procedures to satisfy our quest for a good foundation in comprehension; the English language has an internal syllabus of what should be made prominent phonologically, and this syllabus dictates strategies of oral production and aural comprehension for native speakers. Very often, what is easy to hear is what is important to hear. Most English phrases contain one nuclear stress, and it invariably falls on the most important part of the communicative message. In normal conversation, native speakers of English stress only one or two syllables in a phrase, and this phonological strategy is extremely important as a communicative device. Not only does it help to tie phrases together syntactically, but it also serves as an important discourse marker. Usually, it is the most prominent indicator of cohesion in a text; it is the pragmatic glue that sticks the interlocutor's attention to what is important in the discussion. Let me give some illustrations.

As Chomsky noted in his essays on *Language and Mind*, change in nuclear stress can often change the presuppositions that underlie a text. Thus, by stressing "else", the speaker implies that "someone else" is definitely not John in:

1) John washed the car. I was afraid someone *else* would do it.

But observe what happens when "afraid" is stressed; now it is clear that "John"and "someone else" are the same party:

2) John washed the car. I was *afraid* someone else would do it.

In Richard Gunter's book, *Sentences in Dialog*, the author gives an excellent example of the importance of stress in English discourse. The conversational exchange on the left represents normal stress, but the misplaced stress in the phrases on the right creates an incoherent dialog; nuclear stress is therefore an important marker of cohesion in English conversations.

Coherent	*Incoherent*
A. Bob had acquired a *motorcycle*.	A. Bob *has* acquired a motorcycle.
B. *John* has bought a *sports* car.	B. John has *bought* a sports car.
A. Where did he *get* it?	A. Where *did* he get it?
B. He bought it in the *city*.	B. He *bought* it in the city.
A. Did he drive it *home*?	A. *Did* he drive it home?
B. *Paul* drove it home.	B. Paul *drove* it home.
A. I hope the *traffic* wasn't bad.	A. I *hope* the traffic wasn't bad.

(adopted from Gunter, 1974:22-23)

If you are interested in listening comprehension, and you should be, then let the language do the work of foregrounding listening comprehension for the learners. I can see no real benefit in classroom situations which are created artificially in order to focus the students' attention on comprehension skills. The language can successfully accomplish this if the teacher is shrewd enough to recognize the importance of nuclear stress and is confident enough in the essentially communicative nature of English suprasegmental patterns to let them perform the task of highlighting important communicative information.

I promised another poem. This second verse is chosen not simply because it offers further illustration of what is easy and important to hear, but largely because it is written by a person whom I have always admired and who is still an active poet and author, even in her seventies. I will not bias your opinion by admitting to you that she is my mother, but I will go so far as to confess that I receive no share of her royalties for acknowledging her work publically—the sound and sense of her verse are reward enough for me!

We have bent to love
as a twig bends
to the weight of a leaf.

Together
we have felt the brush of wind,
learned where ripples
breathe under boulders,
listened for sounds
of a forest growing.

From the heat of fire,
the cold of stone,
fire and stone, stone and fire;
birth and death, death and rebirth,
has grown this forest—
has grown this love,

And from the bending
to the weight of a leaf.
(Scovel, 1970:15)

Although this was not the poet's original intent, we have here a minilesson on English and weight and emphasis, don't we? Meaning encapsulated in a few stressed words: love/leaf (almost a minimal pair); wind/boulders/growing; fire/stone/birth and death; has grown this forest/has grown this love.

Language as Function

Finally, language can reveal to us in a natural way what is important functionally. Again, we could look at a wide variety of language forms to illustrate this point, but because I have already chosen a phonological example (nuclear stress), and a lexical example (prepositions), perhaps it might be appropriate to select as a concluding illustration a syntactic pattern. Since English for scientific purposes fits comfortably into a notional-functional curriculum, and since the passive construction has been traditionally, though somewhat inaccurately, portrayed as a syntactic pattern typical of scientific discourse, let us look at what the choice of the passive or an alternative form tells us about a writer's communicative intent.

Sometimes the passive is a useful way to postpone information, as in the punchline of the story about the conservative old lady who bought a female parrot to keep her company. It turned out that the bird's previous owner must have been fairly promiscuous because the parrot kept blurting out, "I'm a sexy thing and I want a fling!" The woman went to see her priest, who had the perfect solution for her. "I just happen to have two male parrots myself," the priest confided, "and they are very pious little animals. Their heads are bowed almost continually in prayer as they go over the rosary with their tiny claws. I'll bring them over to your place tomorrow so they can convert your poor little pet." Sure enough, the priest brought his birds over and placed them in the same cage with the profligate female. No sooner had he covered the cage to give the birds some privacy, than one of the priest's birds exclaimed, "You can throw away your beads, Harry, our prayers have been answered!" Although the parrots certainly were not passive, the punchline is, and the story sounds better because of it.

Several TESOL researchers have helped us understand the function of the passive better. In a paper read at the 1977 TESOL Convention, Herb Seliger suggested that we are much more likely to use active forms for everyday, personal activities, but are prone to employ the passive when referring to processes that are more impersonal and remote. That is, when asked to talk about frying an egg, most people commence with, "First you take an egg; then you get a frying pan..." whereas when requested to talk about steel production, people are more likely to answer with, "First iron ore is placed in a large furnace; then it is heated to a high temperature..."

A similar pattern is evidenced in a detailed discussion of the use of the passive in astrophysics articles written by Tarone, Dwyer, Gillette, & Icke (1981). Although the study was preliminary and restricted to a rather small corpus, their findings suggest that the active form with the first person plural "we" is used when the authors make a unique procedural choice in their experimentation, or when they wish to contrast their work with that of other astrophysicists. In contrast, the passive is frequently used when standard procedures are followed in experiments or when other findings are contrasted with those of the authors.

What we see here is another example of language making decisions about what is important in terms of functioning. Again, it is a case of the medium enhancing the message. I believe that continued research into discourse analysis will help to emphasize the saliency of language, and it is our job as language teachers to reveal the link between the use of the passive and the notion of personal displacement—to demonstrate that language patterns are in and of themselves functional patterns.

Conclusion

The goals of humanism, audiolingualism, and notional-functionalism have been persuasively placed before us. We can choose to achieve each of these goals by renewing a proper emphasis on language.

The paths of interactionalism, structuralism, and functionalism have been attractively pointed out to us. We can choose to follow each of these paths by redirecting our attention to language.

The old thesis that language was everything has been strongly challenged by the antithetical view that interactions, structures, and functions are everything. We, however, can choose a new synthesis in which we can serve these three goals best only by using what is common to us all and what is essential to our students' success—language.

If we can accomplish all of this, we will have achieved a small miracle. I realize that miracles, however minor, are very hard to come by, but I, for one, would rather live with the satisfaction that I have struggled to be a miracle worker, and more importantly, have tried to pass on to my students the beauty of that struggle as well. And if we fail, what of it? We always have the sounds of a forest growing and the weight of a leaf!

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Competence and Capacity In Language Learning

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It is generally assumed to be self-evident that language learning is a purposeful goal oriented activity whose sole objective is the internalisation of a system of rules which define correct linguistic comportment, that is to say the acquisition of competence. Learners are thus represented as directing their efforts, consciously or unconsciously, either under their own volition or with pedagogic persuasion, towards a submission to authority, an acceptance of regulation. They are thus cast in the role of linguistic analysts, each one a sort of mute inglorious Chomsky abstracting underlying order from the clutter of performance by trial and error, intent only on the internalization of the language system. But can we really account for the process of language learning by characterising it in this way as an urge towards conformity? Does the activity of learning only consist in the learning of rules, the linguistic code of conduct, and nothing more? Can learners indeed function as language users at all if this is all that they learn? Codes of conduct, linguistic and otherwise, are necessary social controls on behaviour but they rarely determine what people do in any absolute sense. Indeed in the very process of learning them we discover ways of evading them or turning them to our own individual advantage. And so it is with the rules of language. In the process of acquiring them as a social convenience we learn how to exploit them and how to escape from their confinement in order to express individual experience. In learning competence we also learn how to exercise our *capacity* for making meaning in language.

The orderly conduct of human affairs requires individuals to conform to social convention. There are patterns of acceptable behaviour, exegencies of etiquette, which keep the wilder impulses of eccentricity in check, and hold us to our orbit. We are socialised into acceptance of an established order in the very act of acquiring our first language.

"The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre
Observe degree, priority and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office, and custom, in all line of order",
(Shakespeare, Troilus and Cressida)

Of course there will always be some people who will openly flout authority and assert the primacy of self by denying the social contract to conform—dissidents, drop outs, rebels, revolutionaries and English football fans. But then such people risk losing the benefits that the system provides for those who subscribe to it, and the consequences of challenging the established order can be serious. There are, thus, very strong pressures on people to accept the constraints of social convention and they will in general seek some scope for individual initiative *within* it rather than try to break it down at the barriers.

> "Take but degree away, untune that string
> And hark what discord follows
> "(ibid)".

Let me give you some examples of discord in language, examples of language, that is to say, that untunes the sentence string and disrupts the order of established grammatical rule.

> He saw not the beautiful lady.
> You love not me.
> He has a fill of humility in nature.
> Terrifying are the attent birds on the lawn.

How are such discordant instances of language to be characterised? They are in certain respects expressions in English since they are combinations of English words and not, for example, French, Spanish or German words. But the combinations are not in accord with standard syntactic and semantic rule. They are deviant, discordant; they offend against established order. They are, indeed, not English, even though they are *in* English. They draw on the resources of the language without commitment to the rules which normally constrain their use. In this respect, we may say that they reveal not competence but capacity.

When such expressions are produced by language learners they are characterised as errors, evidence of inadequate competence or, more positively, as evidence of an interim interlanguage system of the learner's own devising. In both cases, the expressions are seen as indicative of a transitional stage in the learning (or acquisition) of the standard system. And in both cases, glosses would be provided in standard form to reveal what the learner should have said, would have said if he/she had been fully competent in the language.

> He saw not the beautiful lady.

This is cited as an error in the compendium of learner errors compiled by Burt and Kiparsky and called *The Gooficon*. "Students" we are told "need to learn the rule for negative placement: *Do* appears in negatives when there is no auxiliary, and *not* follows it". (Burt and Kiparsky 1972:27-28) Application of this rule yields the correct sentence:

> He did not see the beautiful lady.

This seems entirely reasonable, and the same correction procedure would presumably apply to the expression:

> You love not me.

But here we come up against a difficulty. For the source of this expression is not the faltering effort of a student essay but the selected poems of Thomas Hardy:

> You love not me
> And love alone can lend you loyalty;
> —I know and knew it. But, unto the store
> Of human deeds divine in all but name,
> Was it not worth a little hour or more
> To add yet this: once you, a woman, came
> To sooth a time-torn man; even though it be
> You love not me?

We do not suppose that Hardy needs instruction in the rule for negative placement. We assume he knows the rule but chooses to disregard it because it does not provide him with the precise expression he needs to match his meaning. And rhyme is not the reason. The correct form *you don't love me*, would fit just as well as *you love not me* into the rhyme scheme of the poem. The point is that *You love not me* exploits a resource for meaning beyond what is sanctioned by convention in the approved system.

Again, consider the discordant expression:

> Terrifying are the attent birds on the lawn.

Were this to be uttered by a learner what would our likely reaction be?

> "Well I can see what you mean but actually that isn't English. What you ought to say is: "'The birds on the lawn are terrifying.' And they are atten*tive*, actually, not attent. 'The attentive birds on the lawn are terrifying.'
> attent. 'The attentive birds on the lawn are terrifying.'

And so we coax our learners towards correctness, towards the standard codification of meaning that represents competence in a language. But the very same deviation occurs in these lines from a poem by Ted Hughes:

> Terrifying are the attent sleek thrushes on the lawn,
> More coiled steel than living — a poised
> Dark deadly eye, those delicate legs
> Triggered to stirrings beyond sense . . .
> (*Thrushes*)

We do not now think of adjusting the structures to make them accord with correctness. We know that to regularise the language into conformity here would be to diminish its meaning, that to reform the expression would be to deform the poem. So in this case we apply different criteria in our evaluation and engage standards not of correctness but of communicative effectiveness. We recognise that deviant expressions may be indicative not of deficiency but of a more than common ability to realise the resources of the language for making meaning. Now what about the fourth example I mentioned:

> He has a fill of humility in nature.

You will by now, I hope, be uncertain how to react to this deviant or discordant expression. Is it an error to be corrected or an invention to be admired? This time its source reveals it as an error (Burt and Kiparsky 1974) and I have no attested literary example to offer. But it is not difficult to imagine that it could without incongruence appear in a poem. Or perhaps in a Shakespeare play:

> This was the noblest Roman of them all:
> All the conspirators save only he,
> Did what they did in envy of great Caesar;
> He only, in a general honest thought,
> And common good to all, made one of them.
> *He had a fill of humility in nature.*
> His life was gentle; and the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world *this was a man.*
> (Shakespeare: *Julius Caesar*)

From Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: an early manuscript draft, hitherto unknown to literary scholarship.

So it would appear that discord, the violation of conventional norms of correct linguistic conduct, can be attributed to two different and apparently opposite causes. On the one hand it is the result of *deficiency* in a language, in which case we call it error, and on the other hand it is the result of a heightened *proficiency* in a language in which case we call it art. But the deviations themselves may look alike. We cannot judge by appearances. In one of his letters somewhere, Charles Dickens complains:

> "I generally find that when I write a line which I believe to be a
> fresh thought expressed in an original way, that the passage
> is marked 'query' in the proof when it comes back from the printers".

The committing of an error and the creation of an artistic effect can result in the same kind of linguistic object. But although the products are similar, we generally make the assumption that the processes are different: we do not talk about creating an error or committing a line of poetry. Except to memory.

What I want to suggest is that in fact the processes are, in certain essential respects, the same, and that both represent the creative force of what I have called *language capacity*. I mean by this the ability to exploit the resources for making meaning which are available in language whether these have been codified or not.

Language analysis is concerned with the description of competence, the knowledge of linguistic signs as symbols and their approved combinations, distilled from experience. But language use is not just a projection of this knowledge, distorted and unfocussed by the coincidental interference of performance. The linguistic sign in the utterances of language use does not function in the same way as the sign in the sentences of language analysis. It ceases to be a symbol with self-contained meaning. It becomes an *index*, which deflects attention from itself and points the user in the direction where meaning might be found elsewhere.

Music is made not only by the notes but also by the silent spaces in between.

You know I am not only talking about music. You infer indexical meaning beyond the symbol. Symbolic meaning can be defined by analysis in grammars and dictionaries. Indexical meaning must always be a matter of interpretation in use and must always be achieved by the exercise of capacity. Performance is not preordained. As the actress said to the bishop. As the bishop said to the actress.

The knowledge one has of the codified language, the knowledge of symbolic forms, constitutes linguistic competence: the object of linguistic analysis. But although this is what we learn as a function of socialization into the conventions and customs of our particular speech community, it represents only that part of the total meaning potential of our language which has been given social sanction. It may constrain our capacity into appropriate channels but it does not suppress it by complete confinement. Contrary to what we have been told by generations of analysts, language use is not rule *governed* but rule guided behaviour. We can, and do, find ways of expressing individual concepts and perceptions by innovative turns of phrase. There is always scope for invention. Poets are not endowed with any special capacity for creativity which is denied to ordinary mortals; if they were their work would defy interpretation. They simply have a greater talent for exploiting this capacity to artistic effect.

The human capacity for making meaning out of linguistic resources is not, then, confined within competence. Nor is it simply converted into competence in the language acquisition process. One is sometimes given the impression that the sole purpose of innate language capacity is to activate the acquisition of competence in a particular language and that its vital force is thereby exhausted: in discharging this function, we might say, it discharges itself. We are led to believe that the creative force is channelled into a code and finds expression only in the production of sentences according to rule. But the fact that we are able to produce and interpret utterances which do violence to such rules makes it clear that creative capacity has an independent existence.

This capacity is of course available to us as learners of another language, and so called errors are evidence of its survival. They are the results of the learner exploiting whatever resources are available to him to achieve his indexical meanings. This exploitation is comparable with what Levi-Strauss calls *bricolage*: the activity of altering an established order of elements to make a new pattern of significance. As Levi-Strauss puts it (in translation), the *bricoleur*

> ". . . interrogates all the heterogeneous objects of which his treasury is composed to discover what each of them could 'signify' and so contribute to a set which has yet to materialise but which will ultimately differ from the instrumental set only in the internal disposition of its parts"
>
> (Levi-Strauss 1966:18)

> "This logic works rather like a kaleidoscope, an instrument which also contains bits and pieces of which structural patterns are realised. These patterns actualise possibilities . . . these patterns project models of intelligibility"
>
> (Levi-Strauss 1966:36)

This bricolage, this kaleidoscopic actualization of possibilities is, as Levi-Strauss implies, a primal activity of the human mind. The learner as a kind of inventive handyman (or handyperson I suppose I should say) a *bricoleur* of make-shift utterances, simply follows his natural bent as a language user. If there is a ready made, reach-me-down pattern available for a particular purpose, all well and good; if not, then one will have to be put together for the occasion with whatever material comes most readily to hand. This is what the poet does; this is what the learner does; and this is what we all do. We are all, in varying degrees, do-it-yourself *bricoleurs*, fashioning our own indexical devices by rummaging in the established symbolic system for spare parts.

But it will be objected that the learner is surely in a quite different situation. We cannot, and should not, confuse his idiosyncrasies with those of the literary writer. He, poor benighted fellow, cannot help producing oddities because he only has scant materials to work with, whereas the literary writer has complete mastery at his disposal and is deviant by choice. To confuse the two, it might be argued, is to equate the cripple with the contortionist. My argument is that although they may not have the same amount of material to work with, both are in full possession of their creative faculties. The essential difference is that the learner is generally speaking discouraged from using them, and when he does so he is likely to be put in his place and penalised for ineptitude. He is penalised because it is assumed that his efforts are, or should be, directed principally at *learning* rather than *using* language. In this way the learner's creative instincts are suppressed and his individual identity correspondingly diminished. The learner is not granted normal language user privileges.

All this, you might say, has a splendid humanistic ring to it, but surely the language learners' efforts are essentially transitional and tentative, simply a means for finding the right direction to follow. As such, they are the testing out of hypotheses about the target language and are directed at the eventual acquisition of the standard system. In this sense they represent temporary interim approximations, interlanguage staging posts on the road to native speaker competence. Learner language is to be seen simply as a kind of discovery procedure, a device for internalising a second language system. Only this and nothing more.

This seems to be the accepted way of conceiving of learner effort, whether stigmatised as error or not. It is seen as essentially an operation in language analysis whereby the learners seek to discover underlying regularities through all the degenerate data of their own performance. But it does not on the face of it seem very plausible that the learner moves towards some predetermined goal like this, programmed into analysis. It presupposes that he has a target before him, the *target language* indeed, at which he takes deliberate aim with every expression he utters or is drawn willy-nilly towards competence by some atavistic homing instinct. I find it hard to accept that learner behaviour is controlled by either purpose or predestination in this way. It seems to me much more plausible to suppose that he behaves in the natural manner of the language user, that his deviant utterances are patched together from whatever knowledge he can press into service, including knowledge of his own language, in order to get his meaning across. If he follows his normal practice as a language user in this way, he will naturally only fashion his utterances into correct form to the extent that experience indicates that he needs to do so, either to make his meaning plain or to conform to the accepted norm of conventional behaviour. I am suggesting, then, that the oddities of learner language are the creations of his capacity for making sense as the communicative occasion requires. They are the results of *bricolage*, make-shift combinations devised rom whatever bits and pieces are available, and cobbled together to cope with immediate contingencies. They only get fashioned into stable codified form under social pressure from outside.

This pressure in the formal teaching/learning situation is applied by the teacher, the apostle of language analysis, who seeks to show the learner the error of his ways and to guide him along the straight and narrow path of correctness. But there are grave difficulties inherent in this task and, more importantly, grave dangers.

The difficulties first. Learners, like the ordinary people they are, adjust their language to an acceptable norm for two reasons: either in order to be more effectively *communicative* or in order to *identify* with a particular group of language users. Both the communicating and the identifying function of language call for conformity. But if the teacher appeals to the principle of correctness in spite of the fact that what the learner says is perfectly intelligible, then s/he is in effect invoking the identifying function. That is to say, if the teacher makes a remark of the kind: "Well I understand what you mean, but actually we do not say it like that: the correct ways is 'You don't love me', not 'you love not me'". What she is saying is that correctness in this case is not necessary for the satisfactory operation of the communicative function, but is only required for the learner to be eligible to join the exclusive club of standard speakers of English. But there is at least a likelihood that learners do not really want to join such a club, have no urge to be identified with such a group, since they might feel, justifiably enough, that their primary social allegiances lie elsewhere and that they wish to learn another language without being encumbered with the identity of its users. It is difficult to correct learner error which has little or no communicative consequence because to do so is to ask learners to subscribe to an etiquette which may seem alien to them, quaint, even ridiculous; to conform to standards of behaviour that represent a code of conduct for particular social groups with which they have no social connection and no real affinity.

It is pronounciation, of course, which most obviously proclaims group membership, and it is not therefore surprising that accents cling to their owners with such tenacity. For they are the emblems of identity; badges, blazons, rosettes, college scarves, football club favours and the old school tie. Major Thompson and Hercule Poirot are figures of fun, stereotypes of ethnic images but they are significant of a serious point: people do not lightly expose their precarious sense of security to risk by exchanging one social identity for another. We are not always appreciated for our efforts in bringing culture to people who previously only had their own.

So to correct learner language without communicative warrant in order to bring it into line with what an alien society regards as proper comportment is to impose standards of behaviour which in all probability the learner cannot identify with and in which he has no social investment. The codes of conduct of other communities have no psychological jurisdiction over our behaviour. This is perhaps why our misbehaviour somehow does not count in foreign places. "That was in another country". This is why foreigners are capable of uttering taboo words of the most awful obscenity in serene unawareness of their effect, wondering why their remarks have caused such sudden silence.

But the enforcement of regulation, the imposition of correctness may be mistaken for another and more important reason. And here I come to the the *danger* of pedagogic ministrations and return to the question of the relationship between competence and capacity and between the analysis and use of language. The aim of language teaching has generally been understood as the gradual consolidation of competence in the learners mind. Correctness is crucial to this operation since competence in a language means conformity to rule. Any expression that does not conform is by definition ill-formed and a sign of incompetence. But to force the learners into compliance in this way is to suppress the very creative capacity by which competence is naturally achieved. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts at error elimination by exhortation and drill are so seldom effective. The natural instincts of the *bricoleur* continually assert themselves and the learner engages his capacity as a user for making meaning out of language despite the best efforts of the teacher to deter him.

The logic of the line of argument I am pursuing here leads us to the conclusion that it could be counter-productive to take our pedagogic bearings from language analysis and to focus attention only on competence in our teaching as we are at present prone to do; whether this be of a linguistic or communicative variety. We would, I think, be better employed setting up conditions in the classroom which will engage the natural language capacity of the learners, allowing competence to grow out of such activity as a consequence of communicative requirement. Competence in this view is not something that is directly taught but something that learners fashion for themselves by recognizing the need for conventional controls over their creative efforts in the interest of better communication. In this way, competence comes as a corollary to effective communicative use. And correctness is what the learner moves towards, not what he begins with; something he achieves and not something that is thrust upon him.

Now if the language learning process is conceived of in this way as the gradual achievement of competence by the exercise of capacity, then the teacher's role has to be considered. It can no longer be a matter of handing out parts from a language kit with instructions on how to proceed stage by stage to put them together to make the approved model. Instead the teaching task is to involve the learners in activities which will lend purpose to their bricolage, and to *guide* them towards ways of assembling the parts which gradually approximate to standard structures as a function of their increased effectiveness for communication.

This is all very well, you may say, but what if the learners never arrive at the standard structures and so remain incompetent, content with the make-shift bricolage of their own contrivance? I do not think it is very probable that learners will persist in the use of linguistic forms which manifestly do not work in preference to those that do. Like the rest of us, they are likely to take the line of least resistance, and incline to orthodoxy because it is convenient.

But although communicative effectiveness may exert conforming influence it does not guarantee correctness because, as I have argued earlier, correctness is not only a matter of effectiveness but also a matter of etiquette. This cosmetic aspect of correctness is difficult to acquire precisely because of its lack of communicative relevance. Learners who are impressionable will acquire it and those who are not won't. But it seems to me that learners are more likely to be influenced into cosmetic correctness by its being represented as a contingent aspect of purposeful activity than if it is imposed upon them by pedagogic fiat. Providing a model of conformity and indicating its value in practice is a quite different matter from insisting on it as a point of rigid principle, and imposing conversion by coercion. And I am not only referring here to language teaching.

But even if learners fall short of competence, this is not, I think, an important failure. For they will have been engaged in learning through the exercise of their capacity for making meaning from the resources available in a new language. This, I would argue, is the essential creative process of language learning as language use. The extent to which it produces native speaker competence is of secondary and contingent concern.

> "The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre
> Observe degree, priority and place.
> Insistive, course, proportion, season, forms,
> Office, and custom, in all line of order"
>
> "Untune that string and hark what discord follows"

This is the analyst's view of the universe.

But the discord of learner error, like that of the creative artist follows a course, an insisture, a form not observed by custom and has its own priority and its own place in our concerns. It untunes some strings, but discovers others to create its own significant order. *Concordia discors*: *Harmony in discord*: not harsh nor grating but expressing some essential experience of language use beyond analysis and the confines of competence. It can, if we learn to listen properly, be the sound of music to the pedagogic ear, the notes and the silent spaces of indexical meaning.

Art and Science in Second Language Acquisition Research*

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Social scientists have often been frustrated because their fields have not achieved the precision and progress that have characterized the so-called hard sciences. One reaction to that frustration has been a push for more experimental rigor along the lines of what is accomplished in physics, and another reaction has been to turn to the descriptive research characteristic of ethnomethodology. Recent accounts of quantum mechanics, however, (Zukav, 1979) have shown that the objectivity, precision and the ability to predict events associated with Newtonian physics do not exist at the level of subatomic particles. This, along with recent attempts to view linguistic theories as literary texts and to evaluate them according to aesthetic criteria may contribute to a new framework from which we can view our own work.

This paper then is an attempt to expand on Ochsner's (1979) call for a bilingual attitude toward SLA research. Ochsner suggests that the field would be best served by a combination of both nomothetic and hermeneutic research styles. In this paper I would like to suggest that we view our work as both science and art in order to better understand not only what we do but how we do it. I think it can be argued that theorists in our field use artistic as well as scientific devices in building their theories and that consumers of those theories use aesthetic as well as scientific criteria to evaluate them. The problem is that while what is scientific in our work is explicitly recognized, the artistic aspects of our endeavors are usually neither consciously employed or specifically identified.

I will begin with a brief characterization of quantum mechanics. This branch of physics has had to deal with issues which seem to be similar to those that we face in certain aspects of our work. In addition, in subatomic physics the distinction between discovery as associated with science and creation as associated with art has become blurred, and therefore, quantum mechanics may serve as a precedent for the recognition of the artistic in addition to the scientific in our work. The discussion of quantum mechanics which will be presented here is based on Zukav's (1979) non-mathematical treatment of that field.

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Second, I will present four aesthetic perspectives (point of view, tone of voice, inventiveness, and metaphor) which may be used to identify and evaluate the artistic aspects of SLA theories (Kramer, 1980). I will then attempt to apply one of those perspectives (the use of the metaphor) to two theoretical positions in SLA. Finally, I will discuss some advantages which I think accrue from viewing SLA theory as art.

However, before beginning I want to make it clear that I am not claiming that SLA theories are art, but like all social science they have artistic aspects which should be identified, analyzed and understood. Also, I should mention that the "art/science" theme presented here is not a new one. It has a long history and has been treated extensively by C.P. Snow (1959), Gregory Bateson (1972) and many others; so what is presented here is some old wine in a different bottle.

Scientists working in the area of subatomic physics have had to wrestle with the question of whether the phenomena they study exist independently or whether they create those very phenomena. Thus it is no longer clear to them whether they really discover new things or whether they create them. In classical physics, scientists knew something by observing it; however, in quantum mechanics, there is the notion that nothing exists until it is observed. To quote Zukav (1979:28),

> Quantum physicists ponder questions like, 'Did a particle with momentum exist before we conducted an experiment to measure its momentum?'; 'Did a particle with position exist before we conducted an experiment to measure its position?' and 'Did any particles exist at all before we thought about them and measured them?' '*Did we create the particles that we are experimenting with?*'

Thus physicists no longer take for granted that there is a physical reality which exists independently of their attempts to observe it.

In quantum mechanics there is no such thing as objectivity. If scientists conduct a particle collision experiment, they have no way of knowing whether the results would have been the same if they had not been watching it because the results they get are affected by what they are looking for. For example, light has been shown to be both particle-like and wave-like, and all that is necessary to demonstrate one of these two opposing positions is to choose the appropriate experiment. Thus in the new physics, it is taken as a given that the observer cannot observe without altering what he sees.

In quantum mechanics scientists believe that it is not possible, even in principle, to have sufficient knowledge about the present to make complete predictions about the future. This is due neither to deficiencies in measuring instruments nor to the size of the task, but rather it results from the fact that only one aspect of a phenomenon can be known with precision at any one time. For example, since the precise position and momentum of subatomic particles cannot be known simultaneously, scientists cannot make complete predictions about them. Therefore quantum mechanics does not make absolute predictions about specific events. It does, however predict probabilities. In Newtonian physics, given certain conditions, the physicist predicts that X is going to happen next. In quantum mechanics, he can only predict the probability of X happening next.

Scientists working in the subatomic realm also deny the possibility of explanation. The Copenhagen Interpretation of Quantum Mechanics maintains the quantum theory is complete because it works in all experimental situations, but not because it can explain in detail what is occurring. The physicist knows what he has at the beginning and at the end of an experiment, but any explanation of what actually happens between these two states is considered speculation.

Evidence exists that subatomic particles appear to make decisions and that these decisions are based on those made elsewhere in the universe. The experiments that demonstrate such decision making are too lengthy to describe here, but the evidence they provide for the ability of particles to process information and to act accordingly leads to the speculation that these quanta may be conscious. Physicists are thus led to consider the possibility that the distinction between organic and inorganic may be a conceptual bias, and that because humans are organic we may be able to learn more about ourselves by studying energy quanta. Zukav (1979:14) states:

> The tables have been turned. "The exact sciences" no longer study an objective reality that runs its course regardless of our interest in it or not, leaving us to fare as best we can while it goes its predetermined way. Science, at the level of subatomic events, is no longer "exact," the distinction between objective and subjective has vanished.

The point of this brief discussion of quantum mechanics is to suggest that in this branch of physics, research has forced scientists to adopt a philosophical flexability which results in their asking questions that we might productively ask of our own work. The social sciences have always both envied and aped physics, striving for the precision and progress that field has achieved. We might now profit from a continued imitation of that field by maintaining the most rigorous scientific standards in our research, and at the same time by developing a similar philosophical flexibility in the way we view our procedures, results and interpretations. That is, we might imitate quantum mechanics by entertaining the possibility that we create the reality we study, that observation alters reality and that the phenomena we investigate may only be amenable to description and not to (absolute) prediction or (testable) explanation.

One way to develop this philosophical perspective is to view social science theory and research in general (and SLA theory and research in particular) as an art and not science. Zukav (1979:9-10) suggests that

> it is no longer evident whether scientists really discover new things or whether they *create* them. Many people believe that 'discovery' is actually an act of creation. If this is so, then the distinction between scientists, poets, painters and writers is not clear. In fact, it is possible that scientists, poets, painters and writers are all members of the same family of people whose gift it is by nature to take those things which we call commonplace and to *represent* them to us in such ways that our self-imposed limitations are expanded.

A framework for conducting an intellectual exercise whereby we view science as art is available within what Brown (1977), Kramer (1980) and others have called symbolic realism. Symbolic realism is an attempt to counteract positivism which maintains that there is a single reality or truth that can be known directly and objectively by the application of reason in philosophy and the scientific method in science. Symbolic realism, on the other hand, maintains that reality can never be known directly and in its totality. All knowledge is mediated or symbolized and the symbol-systems used by scientists (and artists) are essentially different from the things they seek to symbolize. That reality cannot be presented as it independently exists "out there", and that it can only be known as it is mediated by the perspective of the scientists, implies the existence of multiple realities each of which is a partial representation of the thing observed or studied. Thus multiple ways of seeing will result in multiple theories or empirical accounts of what is seen. This does not mean that all these partial representations of reality when added together will produce the ultimate truth. The notion behind symbolic realism is that such an unmediated real world does not exist, and therefore, it cannot be known even through multiple mediation.

Progress, from this perspective, then "is to be understood as infinitely progressive illumination, each artistic and scientific creation producing further knowledge not just of the subject represented but also of the particular forms chosen to represent it. . ." (Kramer 1980:176). This view casts science and art in essentially the same mold and thus allows that science has a history and that each step in that history produces knowledge, but that science does not have progress in the sense that it leads to an ultimate truth.

Since this perspective does not make a sharp distinction between science and art, but rather sees creation and discovery in both realms as essentially the same process of mediation or symbolization, artistic criteria can then be legitimately applied to scientific efforts as one way of evaluating their adequacy.

Kramer (1980) suggests that criteria such as point of view, innovation, tone of voice and metaphor can be used for evaluating linguistic theory. In terms of *point of view*, the theory must be coherent and hermeneutically self-conscious. It must be "self reflective and distant enough to realize the partial validity of its method and the partial coverage it gives of the phenomenon under investigation." (Kramer 1980:204) Its degree of *innovation* is made known by the way the author relates his position to previous positions taken in the field, and by the way the author establishes the uniqueness of his contribution to the phenomena being studied. The *tone of voice* of a text refers to the stance the author takes vis a vis his material and his audience. Among the tones of voice an author may adopt are devices such as humor and irony. In terms of *metaphor* we want to know how well the imagery an author uses captures for us the reality he perceives. In addition, we want to determine whether the author is conscious of the metaphorical nature of his work or whether he believes his images are direct descriptions of reality.

I would now like to focus on one of these criteria and attempt to show how viewing certain theoretical constructs as metaphors will help our understanding of divergent claims that have been made in the SLA literature.

Krashen (1981) makes the distinction between acquisition and learning. Acquisition is defined as a subconscious process similar to that by which children acquire their native languages. Learning, on the other hand, is a conscious process involving explicit internalization of rules and is a typical result of formal classroom instruction. Krashen argues that utterances are initiated by the acquired system with conscious learning available only as a monitor to alter the output of the acquired system.

McLaughlin (1978) proposes another distinction: controlled vs automatic processing. Controlled processes are associated with short-term memory. They require active attention, but are not always available to conscious perception. They regulate the flow of information between short-term and long-term memory. Automatic processes which are associated with long-term store take substantial time to develop. Once they are established, however, they do not require attention, and because of their speed and automaticity they are usually not available to conscious attention. Applying these processes to second language learning McLaughlin (1978:319) states:

> In L2 learning . . . the initial stage will require moment-to-moment decisions, and controlled processes will be adopted and used to perform accurately, though slowly. As the situation becomes more familiar, always requiring the same sequence of processing operations, automatic processes will develop, attention demands will be eased, and controlled operations can be carried out in parallel with automatic processes as performance improves. In other words, controlled processes lay down the 'stepping stones' for automatic processing as the learner moves to more and more difficult levels . . .

I'd like to suggest that, for a moment, we look at the acquisition/learning distinction and controlled vs automatic processing as literary metaphors rather than scientific constructs. I believe that Krashen and McLaughlin both use these metaphors to explain their own language learning experiences, and to explain their perception of what they view as normal or usual in second language learning. That Krashen's distinction is an attempt to account for his experience is clear from the numerous anecdotes he gives in oral presentations about his language learning experiences in Austria and his experiences in studying the martial arts. McLaughlin in the beginning of his article describes the experience he has had when attempting to distinguish between the use of "rule" or "feel" in assessing the grammaticality of two German sentences.

The problem is that Krashen and McLaughlin have had two different experiences in language learning. Krashen's distinction does not account for McLaughlin's experience. As mentioned above, McLaughlin, in his own introspection is unable to distinguish between items that have been learned and are therefore known by "rule", and those that have been acquired and are therefore judged correct or incorrect by "feel". In addition he disagrees that what is learned is not available for initiating utterances. He states, "Krashen's contention that acquisition is central and learning is peripheral . . . does not seem to correspond to experience." (McLaughlin 1978:327). Here he is certainly referring, at least, to his own experience. Finally, Krashen's metaphor is unacceptable to McLaughlin because it's based upon the distinction between conscious and subsconscious processes. These terms can be seen as metaphors themselves, and for an experimental psychologist like McLaughlin, they are not unsurprisingly taboo.

Now Krashen argues that while McLaughlin uses only intuition to support his view, the Monitor Theory is supported by research evidence. But Krashen's evidence makes no impact on McLaughlin. He states, "what Krashen has done is simply to show that one can talk about certain phenomena in terms of the learning/acquisition distinction." (McLaughlin 1978:325) For McLaughlin to accept Krashen's metaphor would mean to deny his own experience. But Krashen is familiar with the resistence to the idea that learning cannot be used for utterance initiation. He, therefore, responds, "occasionally we learn certain rules before we acquire them and this gives us the illusion that the learning actually caused the acquisition." (Krashen 1979:158) Exaggerating a little, we can say that Krashen argues that people whose experience tells them that learning a rule caused its acquisition are hallucinating. But people who have had that experience do not believe it to be an illusion, and they are faced with the very serious problem of whether to deny their experience and accept the research evidence or to maintain their interpretation of their experience with the belief that future research may provide results consonant with their view.

Krashen's metaphor strikes a positive chord with many people. In fact, as is demonstrated by some of his presentations to teachers where he often explains the theory without describing the research evidence, the audience usually finds the theory so intuitively appealing that they can accept it without the need for a presentation of the research that supports it. However, there are people for whom the metaphor does not ring true, even when backed up by research. These are very often people who have learned a language in a formal setting in an environment in which the language was not spoken. These people have often had grammar study and translation as the major vehicles of their learning. For them, it is very hard to believe that what they have consciously learned is not used for initiating utterances. But since they have only experience and no research to back up their intuition, they just remain silent, feeling uncomfortable with the acquisition/learning metaphor and thus never accepting it.

Now when SLA is regarded as art and not science, Krashen's and McLaughlin's views can co-exist as two different paintings of the language learning experience—as reality symbolized in two different ways. Viewers can choose between the two on an aesthetic basis, favoring the painting which they find to be phenomenologically true to their experience. Neither position is correct; they are simply alternate representations of reality.

My own work on the Pidginization Hypothesis (PH) perhaps provides another area where the examination of imagery might contribute to the understanding of a theoretical position. In 1974, I suggested an analogy between the early stages of SLA and the process of pidginization. My formulation of this analogy is, in fact, based on an earlier metaphor formulated by Whinnom (1971) who distinguished among primary, secondary and tertiary hybridization. Biologists use the term primary hybridization for a phenomenon involving the fragmentation of a species into different races. The analogy in language development is the break-up of a species language into dialects. Secondary hybridization involves the interbreeding of distinct species and, as such, is parallel to the linguistic phenomena associated with untutored second language acquisition. Tertiary hybridization is the process by which new breeds of domestic animals or wild plant populations are formed. What occurs here is that secondary hybrids interbreed, and at the same time are prevented from further breeding with the parent species. The linguistic analogy to this form of hybridization is what typically occurs in the development of plantation pidgins. Here speakers use a partially learned variety of a target language (i.e. a secondary hybrid, or early interlanguage). In addition, the speakers do not share a common native language and are cut off from fluent speakers of the target language. Therefore, they communicate using the secondary hybrid. This causes the hybrid to undergo development independent of either the native or target language until, essentially, a new language is formed.

Accessability to the pidginization metaphor is limited for two reasons. First, it is an abstraction built upon an abstraction, a language metaphor derived from a biological metaphor. Second, unlike the acquisition/learning distinction which can be grasped by intuition, one cannot intuit what is meant by pidginization. To thoroughly understand the metaphor one must pay a price, i.e. one must learn something about pidgins.

Without making specific reference to its biological roots, I adopted the hybridization image and made it a corner stone of my theoretical position.

I argue that secondary hybridization constitutes pidginization, but that tertiary hybridization is required for the formation of a true pidgin. Thus I claim that early SLA involves pidginization, but that it does not result in a pidgin language. This is not Whinnom's position; he views pidginization as restricted to tertiary hybridization. But I find support for my analogy in the work of two other pidginists, Samarin and Hall (see DeCamp, 1971) both of whom would accept the early interlanguage of second language learners (i.e. secondary hybridization) as legitimate pidginization (see Schumann, 1974).

I then go on to use this analogy as my major defense against my critics. This is especially true in the debate with Flick and Gilbert (1976). These authors present six arguments against my analogy, and my rebuttle (Schumann, 1978) to five of them is essentially that if they would consider secondary hybridization as legitimate pidginization then there would be no disagreement. Thus my rhetorical gambit is simply to argue that if my opponents would construct reality (i.e. define pidginization) the way I do, then they could accept my theoretical position.

This line of argument is essentially maintained in the face of further criticism by Washabaugh and Eckman (1980) who criticize the analogy between early SLA and pidginization because they view pidginization, the thing to which SLA is compared, as an unknown; they argue that there is no consensus among pidginists as to what constitutes pidginization. My reaction is to agree with their characterization of the state of the art in pidginization and then to argue that since "pidginists still have a lot to learn about pidginization, it might be helpful to change the status of the pidginization/SLA metaphor from one that is analogic to one that iconic. In other words, instead of claiming that early SLA is like pidginization, the claim is made that early SLA *is* pidginization." (Schumann, In press)

Now this position finds support in Bickerton's (see Bickerton and Odo, 1976 and Bickerton and Givón, 1976) work on Hawaiian Pidgin English (HPE) which is a pidgin in the early stages of tertiary hybridization and, therefore, more closely rsembles early second language acquisition than highly developed pidgins such as Tok Pisin and West African Pidgin English. In fact, Bickerton (personal communication) believes that my iconic metaphor would be even stronger and perhaps unassailable if it were modified to read "early SLA *is* EARLY pidginization". And I would readily agree to such modification.

However, not all pidginists agree with the characterization of pidginization which Bickerton derives from his work on HPE. One anonymous reviewer of my (In press) manuscript when it was submitted to *Language Learning* states that HPE seems to differ radically from what is known about other pidgins.

The point of the above discussion is that there is no reality "out there" that constitutes pidginization, and there never will be. Pidginists are creating the phenomenon they are studying. Pidginization will be whatever any individual pidginist or group of pidginists can get a consensus on, and their use of imagery will be as important as their data in achieving this consensus.

The examples of the role of metaphor in works of Krashen, McLaughlin and Schumann are but brief illustrations of the artistic nature of inquiry in SLA research. However, the examples can easily be multiplied. Consider Krashen's (1981) use of the "affective filter", Selinker and Lamendellas' (1978) highly metaphorical neurofunctional perspective, Adjamian's (1976), Tarone's (1979) and Beebe's (1980) notion of "permeability" in interlanguage, Evelyn Hatch's (1978) implied metaphor of discourse as the mother of syntax, and Stevick's (1980) Levertov machine as a freely artistic elaboration of the Monitor Model.

There are several advantages to viewing social science research as art. First of all, such a view would reduce the need of closure. In classical science in order to have progress closure is necessary. Hypotheses are proposed, tested and then either accepted or rejected. In art perspectives are neither right nor wrong; they are simply more or less appealing to various audiences. For that reason, no perspective has to be disposed of; they all contribute to a greater or lesser degree to the history of art, but none of them has to be discredited in order to capture the ultimate truth. Thus, tentativeness is more possible in art. Secondly, endeavors that are considered "science" are somehow seen to be more important or crucial than artistic endeavors. I would like to suggest that another advantage to viewing SLA theory and research as art is that such a view would allow us to consider our work unimportant. And, in fact, it is unimportant. It has no significant short term consequences, and it's doubtful that even in the long run our efforts will crucially affect society in any way. Certainly the consequences of adopting the acquisition/learning distinction vs controlled/automatic distinction are much less significant than the consequences of adopting supply-side economics vs demand-control economics. Actually, whether the field of applied linguistics adopts Krashen's position or McLaughlin's or whether pidginists agree that secondary hybridization is pidginization will affect society as a whole to about the same degree as whether the art world favors photorealism vs abstract expressionism. In addition, viewing our work as unimportant may result in less dogmatism, less ego involvement and a greater sharing of perspectives.

An additional advantage to regarding SLA as art rather than science is that this view would invalidate certain kinds of rhetorical tacks. For example it would become meaningless to criticizean opponent with such statements as: "It is an unacceptable procedure of scientific argument to . . ." "Scientific theories cannot be supported by X-brand evidence." "I have no objection to X's approach, but it cannot be considered science." "As scientists studying human behavior, we must do X." "X's reasoning violates one of the basic tenants of scientific inquiry." "X's view of science is damaging to the field."

Now I am certainly not opposed to artful use of language to achieve intellectual goals, but I think it would be interesting to have to follow a different rhetoric to achieve those goals - in the same way as it might be interesting to see Balachine choreograph Swan Lake in 12 feet of floor space. In other words, it might be enlightening to have to argue that "X's hypothesis has to be rejected because it is clearly less beautiful than Y's". "X's position is ineffective because it unconsciously adopts the metaphor it seeks to discredit." "X's position is less appealing because he fails to recognize the partial validity of his claim." "X's position must be doubted because it forces me to deny my experience" or "X's position can be ironized because it claims to be a direct description of reality."

To further identify the substantially artistic nature of our work, I'd like to take a moment to curate an exhibition of SLA art. (See Appendix) The first piece is by Steven Krashen (1981) whose simple drawing depicts the function of acquisition and learning in the SLA process. The second work, entitled the Levertov Machine, is by Earl Stevick (1980). This drawing which is informed by experience and imagination rather than experimental research is a variation and elaboration of the Monitor Model. The next piece represents Flick and Gilbert's (1976) conception of the relationship among pidginization, creolization and SLA. The fourth work is an early attempt by Schumann (1976) to depict his view of the same phenomena but with the addition of decreolization. This piece did not receive a favorable reaction from the public. Most people were confused by the grid and failed to identify its role in mediating the relationship between the two continua. Schumann then reworked the representation, and the result is shown in the fifth piece. (Schumann and Stauble, In press) This is still in press so the reaction to it cannot be assessed. The next work by Andersen (1979) has a related theme. It focuses on the role of nativization in various forms of language acquisition. Finally, we have the most elaborate work of all, Selinker and Lamendella's (1978) illustration of their neurofunctional perspective on SLA.

Of course this exhibit is offered to some extent tongue-in-cheek, but, at the same time, I think it should be taken seriously because it represents a genuine effort by all the researchers to symbolize their view of SLA and to communicate that view in a medium that is more visual than verbal. All these drawings are attempts to depict the same reality (SLA), and the fact that the researchers find the drawings necessary and useful attests to the notion that scientific endeavor is, indeed, the process of symbolizing partial perceptions of reality. (It might also be worthwhile to observe which researchers do not use drawings to depict their work and to try to determine why they do not.)

To summarize, the philosophical flexibility shown by physicists studying quantum mechanics is something SLA researchers may want to consider. One way for us to adopt a similar perspective on our work is to view SLA as art. In other words, we may want to entertain the possibility that we create the reality we investigate, that objectivity is an impossibility, and that we may only be able to describe, but not predict and explain.

But this is not to argue that SLA is art. It can and should be treated as both science and art. Thus, it is not necessary to choose between positivism and symbolic realism. Because it is impossible to know which position is correct, as researchers, we should alternately adopt both positions. Thus in building our theories, conducting our research and in interpreting our results, we should consciously employ both the scientific and artistic modes.

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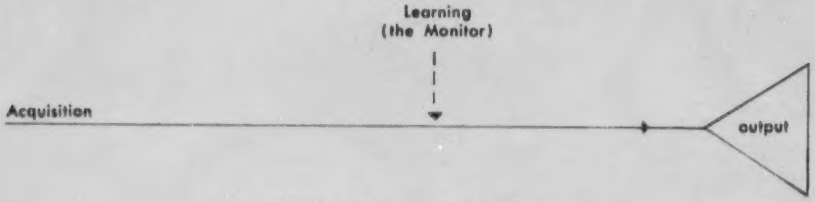
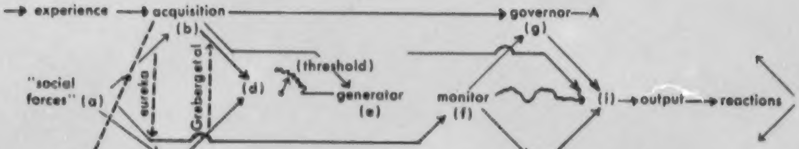
1.

Acquisition and Learning in Second Language Production


Learning
(the Monitor)
Acquisition
output

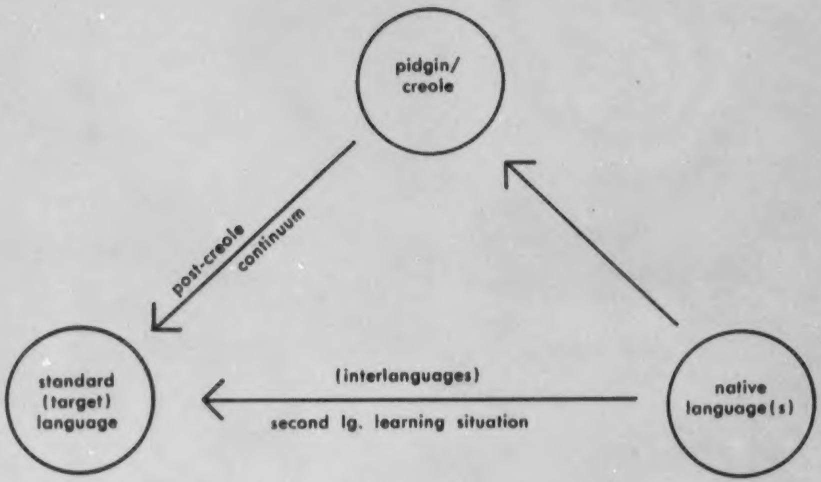
Krashen's Monitor Model

2.


experience
acquisition
(b)
governor—A
(g)
"social
forces" (a)
eureka
Greberget al
(d)
(threshold)
generator
(e)
monitor
(f)
(i)
output
reactions
teaching
learning
(c)
governor—L
(h)

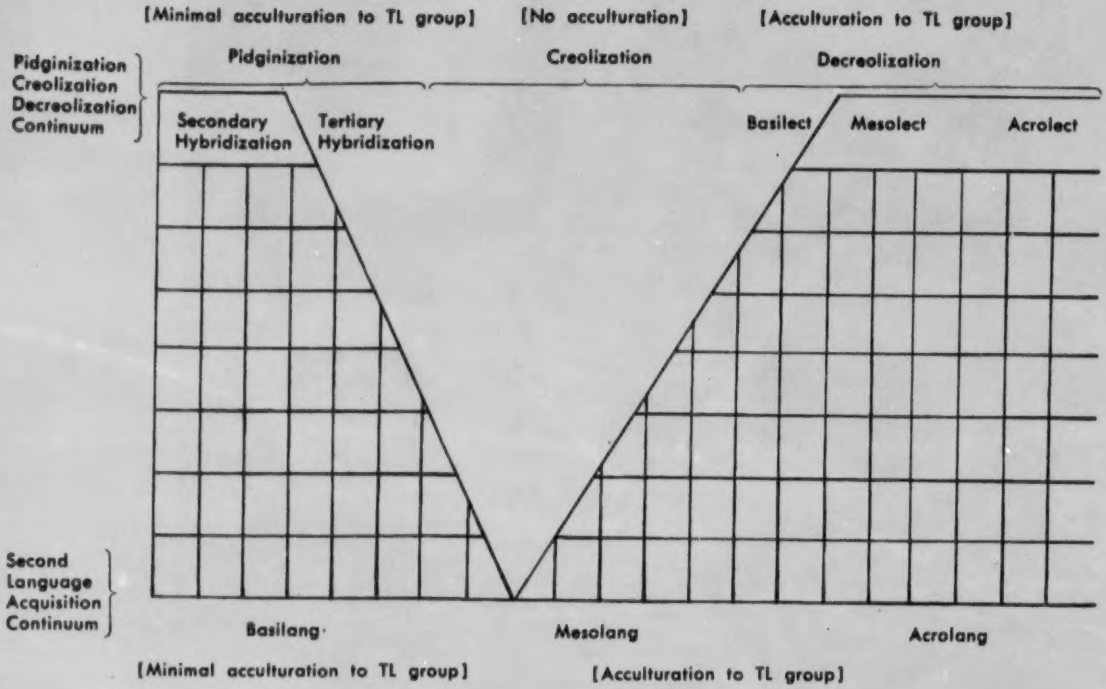
Stevick's Levertov Machine

3.


pidgin/
creole
post-creole continuum
standard (target) language
(interlanguages)
second lg. learning situation
native language(s)

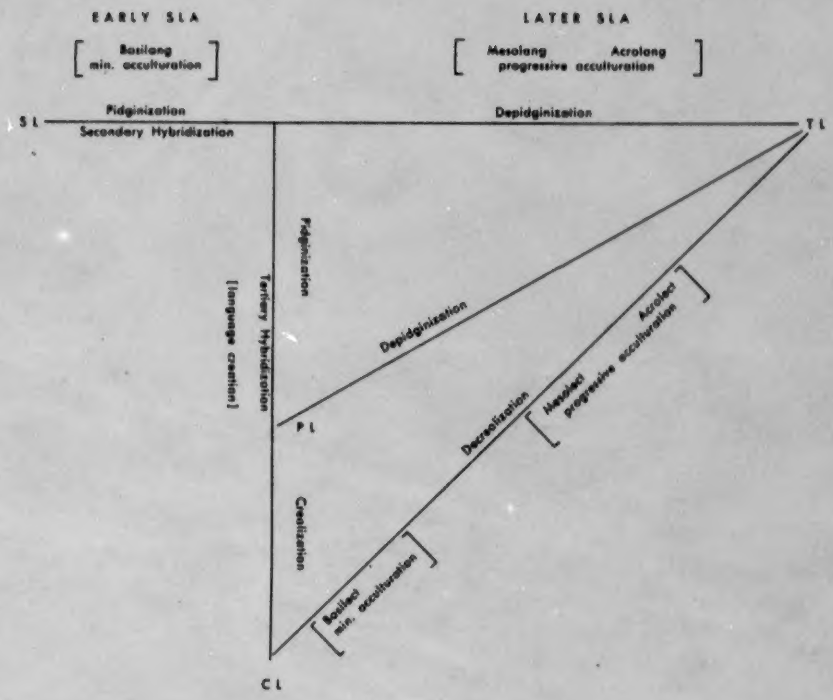
Flick and Gilbert

4.


[Minimal acculturation to TL group]
[No acculturation]
[Acculturation to TL group]
Pidginization
Creolization
Decreolization
Pidginization
Creolization
Decreolization
Continuum
Secondary Hybridization
Tertiary Hybridization
Basilect
Mesolect
Acrolect
Second
Language
Acquisition
Continuum
Basilang
Mesolang
Acrolang
[Minimal acculturation to TL group]
[Acculturation to TL group]

Schumann₁

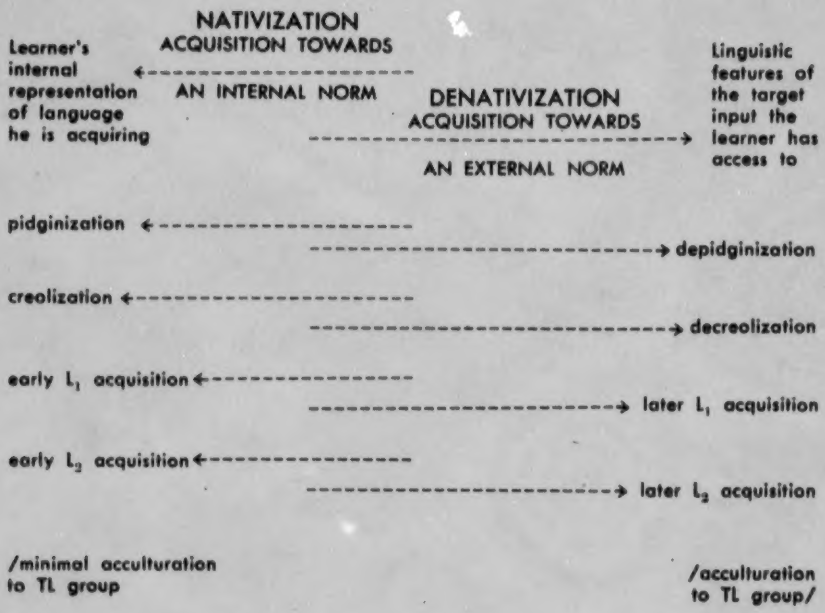
5.


EARLY SLA
Basilang
min. acculturation
LATER SLA
Mesolang
Acrolang
progressive acculturation
S L
Pidginization
Secondary Hybridization
Depidginization
T L
Pidginization
Tertiary Hybridization
[language creation]
Depidginization
P L
Creolization
Decreolization
Mesolect
Acrolect
progressive acculturation
Basilect
min. acculturation
C L

S L = Source language
T L = Target language
P L = Pidgin language
C L = Creole language

Schumann₂

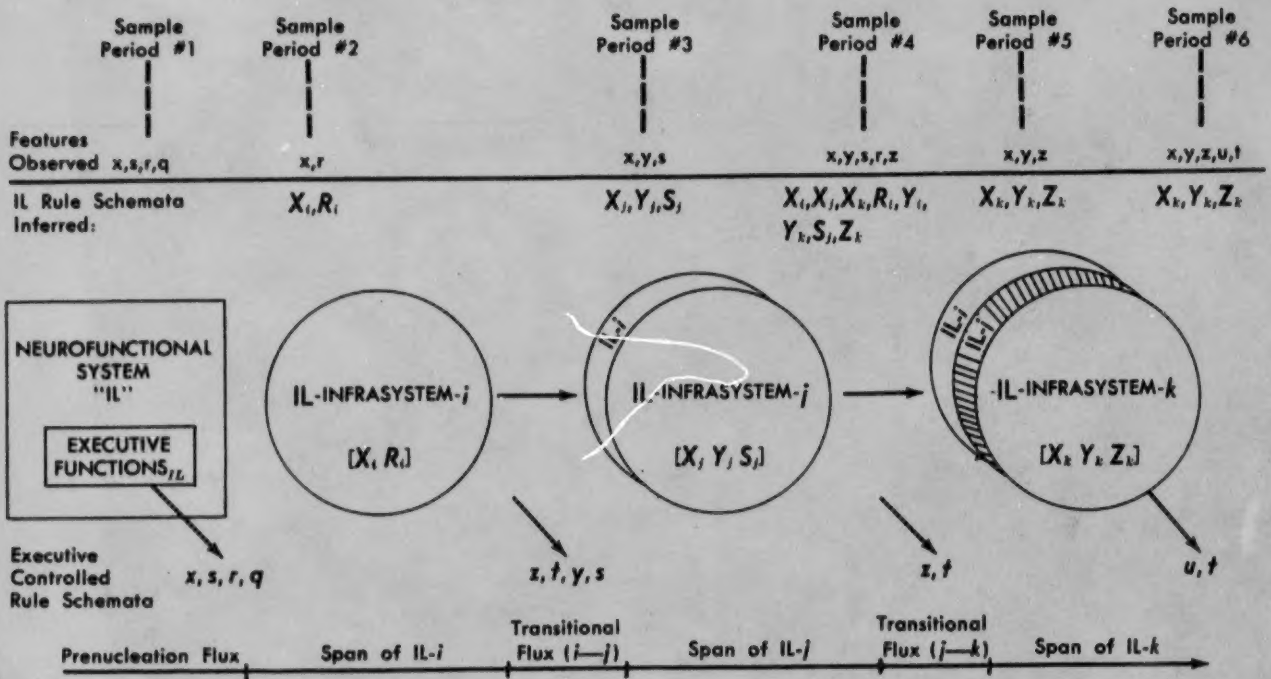
6.


NATIVIZATION
ACQUISITION TOWARDS
AN INTERNAL NORM
Learner's internal representation of language he is acquiring
DENATIVIZATION
ACQUISITION TOWARDS
AN EXTERNAL NORM
Linguistic features of the target input the learner has access to
pidginization
depidginization
creolization
decreolization
early L1 acquisition
later L1 acquisition
early L2 acquisition
later L2 acquisition
/minimal acculturation to TL group
/acculturation to TL group/

Andersen

7.

Illustration of A Neurofunctional Perspective


Sample Period #1
Sample Period #2
Sample Period #3
Sample Period #4
Sample Period #5
Sample Period #6
Features Observed
x,s,r,q
x,r
x,y,s
x,y,s,r,z
x,y,z
x,y,z,u,t
IL Rule Schemata Inferred:
X_i,R_i
X_j,Y_j,S_j
$X_i,X_j,X_k,R_i,Y_i,Y_k,S_j,Z_k$
X_k,Y_k,Z_k
X_k,Y_k,Z_k
NEUROFUNCTIONAL SYSTEM "IL"
EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS$_{IL}$
IL-INFRASYSTEM-i
$[X_i\ R_i]$
IL-i
IL-INFRASYSTEM-j
$[X_j\ Y_j\ S_j]$
IL-i
IL-j
IL-INFRASYSTEM-k
$[X_k\ Y_k\ Z_k]$
Executive Controlled Rule Schemata
x, s, r, q
z, t, y, s
z, t
u, t
Prenucleation Flux
Span of IL-i
Transitional Flux (i—j)
Span of IL-j
Transitional Flux (j—k)
Span of IL-k

Selinker and Lamendella

Commonsense in Oral Testing: Reliability, Validity and Affective Factors*

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An item of terminology must be dealt with straight away. Any discussion of test validity inevitably involves talking about the processes that take place, unobserved, in the student's mind when s/he speaks a foreign language or takes any kind of test. This is a difficult area, because whatever words we use to describe these processes implies that we know a lot more than we do: for example, skill; factor; trait; function. These words rapidly acquire special meanings when used by particular authors, with the result that they mean different things to different people even within a discipline.

I am going to use the word *function* as a single substitute for all the other words, to describe the processes and structures inside the student's mind that influence the linguistic behaviour observed in tests.

This problem is more than just terminological; it is fundamental to our current paradigm of language testing, which rests on three unspoken assumptions about the nature of these functions. In order of importance, they are:

Firstly, that the functions do really exist in some psychologically real form, and that we can begin to describe them in a meaningful way in everyday language.

Secondly, having assumed that these functions exist, we further assume that they exist in substantially the same form in everyone. But it is hard to believe that there are no differences between the psychological principles underlying different people's language use, or that the neurological structures involved are identical in every case. The scale of variation may indeed be considerable.

Thirdly, we assume that, by and large, these functions remain constant over time. There is some recognition that this assumption may be less true than the others; but the significance of the possible size and frequency of this variation for the interpretation of test results is almost always ignored.

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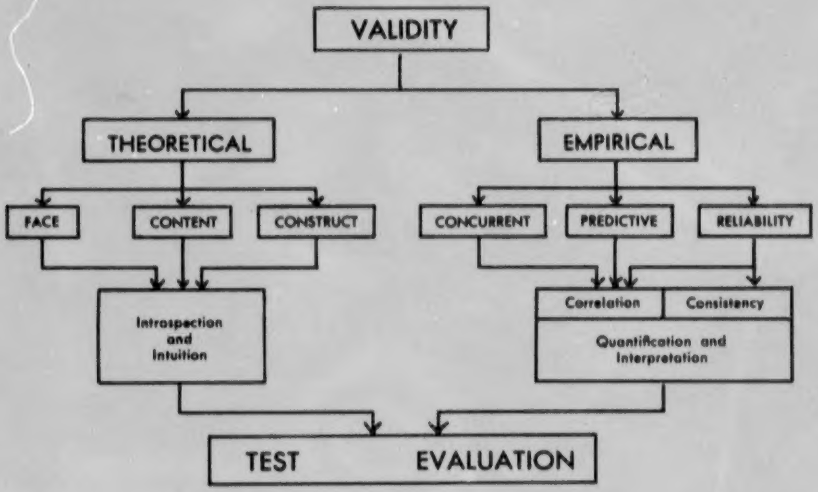
*My thanks are due to John de Jong, Bob Marsden and my colleagues in I.L.C. for their comments and ideas on drafts of this paper.

I would like to suggest that these assumptions are no more than that — assumptions; and to invite the reader to keep an open mind during the subsequent discussion.

Validity

The general question we are asking in the evaluation of a test procedure is; Is the test valid? Does it in fact measure what we claim it measures? This is a general question, and there follow a number of more specific ones; when we have answered these, we can then return to give an answer to the general question. I shall use the simple term VALIDITY on its own to represent this general question.


VALIDITY
THEORETICAL
EMPIRICAL
FACE
CONTENT
CONSTRUCT
CONCURRENT
PREDICTIVE
RELIABILITY
Introspection and Intuition
Correlation
Consistency
Quantification and Interpretation
TEST EVALUATION

At the next level, there are two different methodological approaches to this question; these are the theoretical and the empirical. Within each of these approaches, there are different types of validity; I have put three under each approach, and I should briefly define what I understand by each of them.

Face Validity. Does it look like a reasonable test? This refers to both the teacher and the student; if neither thinks it looks like a good test, then neither is going to take it very seriously.

Content Validity. Do the items or tasks in the test match what the test as a whole is supposed to assess? However the aim of the test is expressed, content validity reflects the extent to which a student taking the test does actually have to exercise those abilities or skills.

Construct Validity. Do the items or tasks in the test match the theory behind it? This is the extent to which a test reflects the test constructor's theories of language learning and language use. To a great extent, construct validity will — or should — determine the form of a test.

Concurrent Validity. Do the test results show a reasonably high correlation against another test or criterion measure that is believed to measure the same function, when both measures are taken at roughly the same time?

Predictive Validity. Do the test results enable you to predict performance on some other test or criterion measure to be administered at some future time, as measured by correlation?

Reliability. Is the test consistent in the scores it gives on second or subsequent applications to the same students?

One reason for placing reliability here, rather than in a separate category, is because it is a necessary but not sufficient condition for general validity; as such, it is comparable in status with other forms of specific validity. Another reason is that, like other forms of specific validity, reliability measures largely depend on correlation coefficients; and in fact, whether a particular correlation is interpreted as concurrent validity or reliability can in some cases be a matter of opinion.

To produce useful statements about a particular language test, two processes are used, reflecting the two different approaches to validity. These are respectively Introspection & Intuition for the Theoretical approach, and Quantification & Interpretation for the Empirical approach.

In the first case, to assess Face, Content and Construct validity the test evaluator examines the test and on the basis of experience and intuition of him or herself and of others, formulates answers to the questions about these types of validity. In the second case, answers to the questions are reached on the basis of interpretation of the results of statistical computations. The words *interpretation of* are important here; a correlation coefficient of, say, 0.8 is no answer in itself; it requires interpretation in the context of the data from which it comes, and it should be given meaning only in that context.

It is the thesis of this paper that too much weight is at present given to the importance of statistical data, which is not interpreted in a sufficiently critical fashion; and too little weight is given to intuitive judgements of theoretical validity. One major consequence of this is that the importance of affective factors is largely ignored, because affect is not susceptible to quantification. If we can't quantify something, we seem psychologically unable to handle it; we seem to be scared of accepting the value of our own intuition. The use of the word *commonsense* in the title of this paper refers to the desirability of a more even balance between statistically based information and introspective judgements in the evaluation of language tests. Because of the high status attached to the scientific approach in the physical sciences, this obsession with quantifiable data is carried over to the study of human behaviour, which then becomes grandly known as behavioural science.

As an example of this, the importance of affect has been accorded a greater measure of recognition recently, which is pleasing; but a common reaction has been to trivialise it by trying to quantify it, so that we can then accommodate it into our scientific paradigm.

The point I am making is *not* that quantification is always bad, but that it is sometimes inappropriate, and I believe that affect is one of these cases. It is a loosely defined area for which we use the term affect as a convenient label; as soon as we try to measure it with numbers, we are not just changing the nature of what we observe, we are in danger of actually creating what we observe as an artefact of the process of observation. I believe that a lot of the work done recently with factor analysis is a good example of this. Some of the things that we test for and measure, we do so not because the functions tested are particularly meaningful or important, but just because they can be measured, whereas the things we would most like to measure are unquantifiable.

Liam Hudson describes this as a tension between what you can measure and what you would like to measure; he says it is a tension that is essential to progress, or else research would be barren (Hudson 1966:27) Tension is a state of dynamic balance between opposing forces; it is my belief that we have yielded too much ground to the forces of quantification, and that as a result, this balance has been upset.

This bias towards quantifiability can be observed at two levels; firstly, in the preference for correct answer only type tests, the so called objective tests, such as multiple choice or cloze; secondly, in the emphasis on empirical validity data in the evaluation of test types and procedures. I would like to consider both these levels by evaluating the oral interview procedure in terms of the six forms of specific validity.

For the sake of clarity, I must first describe what I understand by oral interview. What I understand by this term is a situation in which the student engages in conversation with either the assessor, or other students, or both; in which the student has to give information about his or her attitudes or beliefs that are personally true; and in which the student has the opportunity to take the initiative and steer the conversation, if desired. Any kind of initial stimulus may be used to start off the conversation, so long as it is not allowed to dominate it subsequently. In my opinion, at least part of the assessment procedure should be allocated to an overall impression score. This is a very board description, and obviously there are many variations of test types that will fall within it.

Face Validity

This type of oral interview has better face validity as a test of oral proficiency than almost any other; this partly because the student participates actively; partly because the test aims to be highly realistic; and partly because it offers the opportunity to make a greater or lesser contribution according to the individual's interest in the subject under discussion, and to steer the topic of conversation.

The point of this is not just that different people have different interests, and that one or two predetermined topics may unwittingly favour some students over others. Personalities differ to the extent to which they are able to focus their minds on a topic outside their particular interests. There is, in other words, a spectrum of individuals ranging from those who can apply their full mental and communicative energy to any task, to those who can only apply themselves when their particular interests are under discussion.

This is obviously one area where affect comes in. People in the second group, who find it difficult to throw themselves with enthusiasm into discussion of any topic they are presented with, are likely to be discriminated against if an oral test procedure dictates that a particular topic should be used in order to standardise the administration of the test. The more rigidly the topic is defined, the less face valid it will seem.

I'm sure everybody agrees on the importance of attitudinal and personality factors, but I think too many testers, under the influence of the psychometricians, are only paying lip-service. Our response to this problem should not be to try to annex affect as another colony in the empire of empirical psychology, but rather, to recognize it for what it is, an amorphous and highly complex attribute that is fundamental to the individual's performance in a given situation. Having given this recognition, we can then adjust our test procedures to allow for it. The only way to accommodate such a complex attribute into our system of assessment is to use an equally complex system to match it; and that is, the intuitive faculties of an experienced assessor — or two or more assessors if possible. When we have recognized the importance of affect, and adjusted our test procedures to allow for it, then our tests will seem to students and teachers alike to be more valid tests of oral proficiency.

Content Validity

The degree of reality of this kind of oral interview — its similarity to genuine oral interaction — is in itself a major indication of content validity. Unlike a correct answer only test, there is no agonizing about whether the forms of language have been sampled in a truly representative fashion; the forms that are used in an oral interview are used precisely because they are needed to maintain a reasonably authentic and communicative dialogue. The hypothetical conditional structure will be used *if* it is needed — a pretty rare occurrence in spoken English, and not otherwise. Similarly, in terms of conventional skills, the test is content-valid by virtue of its near-authenticity; there is no need to analyse a large number of micro-skills out of primary language data, and then check the test procedure carefully to make sure that each one is present in the right proportion. Firstly, you can't do it, because the test has no script; secondly, even if you could, it would be a cumbersome and unnecessary procedure that only served to add several degrees of uncertainty to the comparison between the test and the primary data.

Construct Validity

On one level, this is the most difficult area of all in which to establish validity, because we don't have any satisfactory and widely-accepted theory against which to compare our tests. On another level, it makes it very easy; if the best theory we have is trivial, then matching a particular test against it is not going to be very difficult.

Recently, there has been a debate between those language testers who have supported the idea of a single factor behind language competence, those who have believed it is divisible into a number of totally distinct factors, and those who come somewhere in between.

These are, of course, hypotheses rather than theories; they offer no explanation as to how language is acquired, learnt, processed, stored or retrieved, and therefore do not offer a sound basis for validating a test. I would like to make reference to two current theories to provide construct validation for the oral test; Krashen's Monitor Model (Krashen 1981) and the trend known loosely as humanism. (Stevick 1976 and 1980)

If forced to describe the current methodology behind language teaching, I believe most teachers — as opposed to academics — would pick out two main elements: the structural and the communicative. Structural accuracy, including vocabulary, pronunciation, and so on is the knowledge element. The other element is knowing how and when to use that knowledge; which language structures are appropriate in which situations. Now, a multiple choice structure test can be used to assess the first but not the second element; whereas an oral interview can assess both, by applying different marking criteria to the same data.

This distinction between the communicative and the structural elements is reflected in Krashen's Monitor Model, and his distinction between language acquisition and language learning. Acquisition, whether of the first, second or a subsequent language, comes about without conscious effort through the interaction between an individual and his or her environment. Learning, by contrast, is the conscious and often difficult process that results from the interaction of someone in a teacher role and someone in a student role. Genuinely creative construction can only draw on the language we have acquired: if there is time, and if other circumstances are right, the product may be monitored by the language command we have learnt.

By this theory, a discrete point test will exercise only the conscious use of grammar, that is, the language we have learnt: because it requires attention to form not meaning; because it involves pattern recognition and not creative construction; and because it is based on the assumption of the feasibility and the desirability of grammatical sequencing that is associated with learning, but not with acquisition. For all these reasons, such a test is fine if you want to test control of conscious grammar, for example in an achievement test; but it is not valid as an indication of general proficiency in communicating. For this purpose, we need a task that brings the acquired language into play, and the open-ended oral interview fits this requirement very well. Its authenticity requires close attention to the meaning of what is being said; each individual utterance is the result of the speaker's desire to express that statement; and because it is integrative, the question of grammatical sequencing does not arise. Indeed, if a measure of grammatical control is desired, there is strong argument for basing it on an oral interview rather than a multiple choice test; and that is, that the discrete items in a grammar test represent only those features of language that are easily reducible to descriptions and rules, leaving vast areas that are not susceptible to such analysis, and which can only be exhibited in a productive integrative test.

The other theory I would like to make reference to for construct validation is the tradition known as humanism. I hesitate even to mention the word, as it is so emotionally loaded and so lacking in clear definition — the *Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (Bullock and Stallybrass 1977:291) describes it as "A term of extensively varying significance" and I think that description holds good for its use in language teaching circles. In so far as it represents a number of mutually coherent ideas which offer illuminating explanations for the observable behaviour of people in classrooms, it constitutes a theory, and it is one that is finding increasingly wider acceptance.

If I may be so brazen as to summarize the humanistic methodology in a single sentence, it aims to create an atmosphere of security which is sufficiently structured to satisfy students' emotional needs while allowing them sufficient space to grow in whatever direction suits the individual at that time. Of all testing procedures, the open-ended oral interview as I have described it comes closest to this ideal; while providing the explicit (and highly familiar) format of an ordinary conversation, it provides space for the individual become involved with the meaning of the conversation at a deeper level than the surface value of the words, because the opportunity is open to them to commit themselves by making statements that are true for them personally, as well as giving them the opportunity to steer the conversation. In other words, the teacher/tester maintains the control over what happens, but yields to the students the initiative to say what they want when they want. Because there is no special, predetermined topic or activity in the oral interview, this has a beneficial washback effect on teaching; there can be no special examination classes to prepare students for an ordinary conversation.

It may seem ironic to seek to validate a test procedure with reference to humanistic ideas, which put such great emphasis on lowering the barriers of anxiety and tension that inhibit language learning; whereas tests are precisely the kind of situation that creates tension. But this seems all the more reason to use and benefit from such ideas; by offering the familiarity and authenticity of the oral interview, and the space for self commitment, any reduction in affective barriers must have a beneficial effect on the individual's performance. I have tried to emphasize the importance of affective factors in testing, and the inhibiting effect they can have to a different extent with different individuals; if we are to face this problem squarely, rather than brush it aside as an inevitable side effect of testing, I think we are bound to give serious consideration to any methodology that claims to have the reduction of these affective barriers as a central aim. A common objection that used to be raised against open ended tasks stemmed from the test-as-a-sample-of-items paradigm associated with structural linguistics. The objection was that the clever, or rather the cunning, student could avoid the use of paricular structures and thus conceal his or her particular weaknesses. This is true, but surely it is a positive feature — if s/he can do it in a test, then s/he can also do it in real life yet still communicate, and so the test is being realistic as an indicator of communicative ability rather than a sample of structural knowledge.

Empirical Validity

This whole area of the empirical evaluation of tests is a swamp in which we have lost our way. Our only guide is the reins of statistical procedures, the imperialist running dogs of the psychometricians who led us trusting souls into the quagmire in the first place. To continue the metaphor, it is our own fault for setting off into the quagmire without a good map; and the map we should have had, and still don't, is a sound general theory of language learning and language use.

This lack of theory has two practical consequences in the statistical swamp; firstly, we get into trouble when we try to describe the degree of equivalence between two tests; and secondly, when we try to specify how far the items in a test should be consistent with each other. This question of consistency is a problem for Kuder-Richardson and other internal reliability coefficients; the problem of equivalence concerns test/retest, parallel form and split-half reliability measures as well as concurrent and predictive validity. That is to say, both forms of empirical validity and three out of the four common reliability measures depend on the interpretation of correlation coefficients.

We have been warned time and again of the dangers of loose interpretation of correlation coefficients — there were enough warning signs before we entered the swamp. I will quote only one; in 1951, Moroney wrote: (Moroney 1951:303)

> . . . at no point are statistical methods more of a sausage machine that in correlation analysis. The problem of interpretation is always very much more difficult than the statistical manipulations, and . . . there is no substitute for detailed practical acquaintanceship with every aspect of the problem. The statistician can only help out the specialist in the field, not replace him. The man who plays carelessly with sharp tools is asking to be cut.

"There is no substitute for detailed practical acquaintanceship with every aspect of the problem . . ." It is so obvious, it sounds platitudinous, but it is a principle we break every time we extrapolate from a correlation found in one context and expect it to hold good in another, quite different, context.

John Oller, although one of the worst offenders for relying heavily on the evidence of correlation data, has been keenly aware of the problem; he is absolutely right to say that a high correlation is easier to interpret than a low one. (Oller 1979:56) A high correlation indicates a positive relationship; a low correlation may represent no relationship at all, but chance correlation; or a positive but weak relationship; or a positive relationship that is strong, but is concealed by low reliability, poor validity, inadequate discrimination, and so on.

Concurrent Validity

However, the kind of relationship indicated by a high correlation is still purely mathematical, and it is the interpretation that is crucial. It may indicate that both tests are testing the same function, and hence be correctly interpreted as a sign of high concurrent validity; it may indicate a substantial degree of general language proficiency on both tests; it may indicate the significance on both tests of a 'test taking ability'; it may indicate that the same students were feeling good when they took both tests, while others were feeling tired, under strain or under-motiviated; or — and this is the most likely answer — it may be any combination of these, and the significance of any one of them may vary from one administration of a test to the next. Yes — a high correlation is easier to interpret than a low one, but it still does not allow us to conclude, on the basis of that alone, that the two tests are measuring the same thing, even supposing their reliability has been independently established. Yet this is the sole basis of concurrent validation, the most widely used and quoted form of validity.

Apart from the statistical hazards, the interpretation of correlations as concurrent validity coefficients rests on assumptions about theoretical constructs; for example, a belief in the psychological reality of the four skills will predispose us to interpret a correlation between two kinds of listening test in that way rather than any other. Therefore, this assumption of a particular kind of theoretical validity, whether it is made explicit or not, is logically prior to the meaningful interpretation of an empirical validity measure.

In the case of the oral interview, the tester's beliefs about language constructs are crucial to the interpretation of correlations with other tests, because the interview is so integrative. More than any other kind of test, it exercises a wide variety of what might otherwise be tested as separate skills: Aural Discrimination and Comprehension, Information Processing and Retrieval in real time, Motor Skills, Grammar, Pronunciation and Intonation, Appropriateness in Context, Anticipation, Fluency and so on, as well as the skills that belong more in the realm of psychology than linguistics, such as communicating with facial gestures and body language.

This state of affairs is highly desirable, because the extent to which it reflects the reality of oral communication in its full complexity is a good indication of face and content validity; but it does make correlations with other tests harder to interpret. With such a wide range of skills being used, there will be partial overlap with virtually every other language test that ever existed. The extent of this overlap, and therefore the degree of correlation thought desirable with some other test, can only be assessed by intuition based on the tester's theoretical constructs; and thus the implication of a particular correlation for the overall evaluation of the test is also entirely dependent on the tester's subjective beliefs.

Predictive Validity

This difficulty of interpretation is also true of predictive validity, but because the intervening gap between test and criterion measure is that much greater — perhaps of the order of one or two years — there is much more chance of other variables intervening in a big enough way to distort the results significantly.

Reliability

The reliability of a test score, defined in terms of the consistency of obtained scores over successive independent testings, is a concept that cannot be directly observed. Unlike the physical scientist, we cannot assume constancy in the quantity being measured. Neither can we assume experimental independence - the act of measurement may change the function under measurement so that on the next application of the test procedure that function is effectively different because of the learning effect of the first application.

So what we do is make various assumptions, which usually cannot be tested, but which allow us to obtain usable statistics which we like to call coefficients of reliability.

Test/Retest

The closest measure we have in principle to the concept of reliability is test/retest. This is the correlation of the results of two successive administrations of the same test to the same students. There are two serious problems; the shorter the interval between applications, the more likely it is that some of the variance assocated with memory and chance will be counted as systematic; the tests will not be independent. On the other hand, the longer the intervening period, the greater the likelihood of intervening growth in the function being tested at a different rate between students; it is not exactly the same people taking the test.

The major assumption is that of constancy of the function under measurement; the test/retest coefficient may be seen as an indication of the extent to which that function does in fact remain constant, rather than as the reliability of the test. (That is why Cronbach called this the Coefficient of Stability). For example, if you found that a listening comprehension test had lower test/retest reliability than a structure test, it does not necessarily mean that the listening test is less reliable; it may be that what we like to call the listening skill is more variable within an individual over time than performance on structure items.

Parallel Form

To avoid this dilemma over the length of interval between tests, the parallel form estimate of reliability involves the administration of two different but equivalent tests. Since the items are different, there is no question of a memory influence. However, if the form of a test was a novelty to the students on the first application, then there would have to be an assumption of experimental independence that experience with the first test had no effect on performance on the second. Parallel form also shares with test/retest the assumption of constancy of function. More importantly, parallel form makes the additional assumption of equivalence between the two test forms. This relationship is very finely balanced; if the test contents are too similar, it will become partly a test/retest measure; and if the tests are too different, then they will no longer be parallel forms testing the same function, but different forms testing overlapping functions.

When we are dealing with discrete items sampled from a large population, this kind of fine tuning, item by item, is feasible; however, equivalence is going to be very difficult to achieve when the test task is essentially unique, such as an open ended interview.

Split Half

The third reliability measure that relies on correlation is the split half procedure, whereby a single test is subdivided into two presumably equivalent groups of items, which are then considered as parallel tests. This avoids the assumption of constancy, because all the items are taken at the same time. It does, however, make the assumption of equivalence, in this case, that it is possible to devise a procedure that divides the test into two parts that are equivalent in content and difficulty. The most obvious way to make a split in the oral interview procedure is to split the test into two arbitrary parts by time, and give two scores, each based on five minutes, for example, rather than one score based on ten minutes. However, because the whole procedure is designed to be as close to a real conversation as possible, it is going to be impossible to guarantee equivalence of content and difficulty. Further, what kind of reliability is the correlation between the scores to be called? Is it test/retest, because exactly the same conversational style and format is adopted? Is it parallel form, because although the procedure is the same, the contents are not? Or is it split half, because it is really just a longer test divided into two?

What I am suggesting is that the classical model for assessing test reliability is far from satisfactory when applied to this kind of integrative open ended oral interview. I would like to propose another way of looking at the problem. The conventional reliability measures are inadequate partly because they are restricted to considering the reliability of the test itself. It is widely recognized that a major drawback of productive tests is the lack of marker reliability, rather than test reliability; and I would suggest that there is a third element that is usually overlooked in our enthusiasm for the impersonal mathematical model, and that is the student. Thus we have three reliability elements common to all types of language tests:

the test	reliability $R(T)$
the students	reliability $R(S)$
the marker	reliability $R(M)$

and each of these three elements may be subject to unreliability. The overall reliability that we actually achieve would be represented by the product of these three

$$R(T) \times R(S) \times R(M)$$

For a discrete item test that is objectively marked, such as multiple choice, $R(M) = 1$. Therefore, the reliability $= R(T) \times R(S)$. The classical testing model ignores the students, and blithely assumes that they are always wholly reliable. We don't usually ask, "Were the students in this sample reliable people?"

It may seem that this point is exaggerated, that ordinary human reliability in answering tests is very high. But there are two areas of doubt: firstly, the stability of affective variables: attitude, motivation, fatigue, mood, health and so on. Taking tests is not much fun at the best of times — taking two parallel tests, or two forms of the same test, is still less fun, even in the interests of scientific research. Secondly, the identity and constancy of the linguistic function under measurement. When we're dealing with something as general as oral proficiency, we have, in my opinion, no theoretical justification for believing that it is a single stable quantity, varying only with the incremental effect of learning or acquisition.

The classical reliability model admits a single coefficient referring only to $R(T)$. The situation changes when we come to consider the reliability of the oral interview; and here lies the importance of considering reliability as one of a number of forms of specific validity that contribute to the overall general validity (see Figure 1.)

First, I would suggest that because the oral interview is not a gruelling ordeal like a pencil and paper grammar test, it does not raise the students' defensive barriers to the same extent. In a phrase Stevick quotes, the student is more likely to feel "an object of primary value in a world of meaningful action" (Stevick 1980:6)

In promoting the reduction of this affective defensive barrier, the oral interview allows the student's performance to be a better and more consistent reflection of his or her underlying competence.

However, marker reliability R(M) tends to go down; instead of an automatic correct/incorrect choice made on the basis of which distractor or word was chosen, the marker now has to make value judgements over the whole range of communicative skills. This may be undesirable, but it is not surprising — we are dealing with something approaching genuine communication, rather than an artificial task selected mainly because it can be marked right or wrong.

Third, the reliability of the test or task itself R(T). This seems a reasonable concept when that task is a clearly defined and highly artificial procedure. But as we saw, when the task is not constrained in that way, and it takes the form of a conversation that is deliberately intended to be as open ended and realistic as possible, then I suggst that the traditional concept of reliability does not hold up well.

What has happened is that in moving from an ordinary objective test to this unstructured form of interview the overall reliability has gone down, while face validity, content validity and (in my opinion!) construct validity have all gone up.

The implication is that there is a relationship between the degree of open endedness or authenticity of an oral test and its lack of reliability. This relationship is not a coincidence; and when you think about it, it's not surprising, either; the further away an oral test moves from predetermined and structured language forms, and the closer it approximates to genuine oral interaction, the harder it is to perform consistently and to assess that performance consistently.

Faced with this possible loss of reliability, the reaction of most testers has been to maximize the empirical validity at the expense of the theoretical by going for objective tests. This is the statistical bias. However, I believe an increasing number of test constructors are users now recognize that we lose something important when we sacrifice face validity. The alternative course of action is to find ways to improve marker reliability while maintaining good face validity through a high degree of authenticity. There are many ways this can be done, and which you choose depends primarily on the resources you have available, in time and people, and the purpose of your testing programme. There are no right or wrong measures, only ones that are more or less appropriate to your particular testing context. Here are some suggestions.

First, and most obvious, increase the number of markers. The more people involved in reaching a final score the more reliable that concensus will be. This does not mean that every student has to be interviewed by a battery of judges; the BETA II Test, which has oral and written subtests and is administered to some 2000 students a year in Japan, has a fifteen minute oral interview divided into two sections; the first is conducted and marked by one marker, the second by another marker, and both sections are recorded for remarking by a third marker at a convenient time later on.

Second, increase the number of tasks. Even if this means dividing up the conversation into a number of more or less arbitrary sections, there is less chance of an extreme overall score being given.

Third, use different kinds of task or stimulus; start off with a direct question and answer exchange to elicit factual information, then move on to ask about opinions or experiences; use a visual stimulus, again starting with specific questions and then broadening out; use a written or recorded cue to ask how the student would react to a particular situation and why; ask students to prepare a one or two minute presentation, and then to answer questions. In each case, although the starting point may not be realistic, in the hands of a skilled assessor the conversation rapidly generalises into something more authentic, and the student is left with the feeling that s/he has been given every opportunity to show off his or her proficiency.

Fourth, hold frequent moderation meetings between your markers, to remark tapes of old interviews either individually or together; and encourage markers to check their own marking consistency by remarking a few tapes every now and again. Set boundaries within which you would expect their mark/remark consistency to remain.

Fifth, if you have a large number of possible assessors to choose from, run a little remarking experiment to find out which of your potential markers maintain the highest degreee of self consistency, and give the same exercise to any new markers. Some people happen to be more self consistent than others; so if you have a choice, why not use the best you have available?

Sixth, construct marking protocols or rating sheets defining the levels of performance that are equivalent to each score. This is a time consuming and difficult procedure, but it is much better to construct one for your own purposes using the concensus of the markers who will actually have to use it, rather than to adapt one from somewhere else and find different people interpreting it in different ways.

Seventh, if the oral test is part of a battery, draw up rough levels of equivalence between scores on the oral test and scores on other subtests. Then you can check very quickly for scores that deviate widely from the expected equivalents at each level. Obviously, there will be deviations from the norm that are justified (there would be little point in having separate subtests if there weren't); but if several such deviations in the same direction are found to have come from the same marker, an adjustment of marks can be made. The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate use this technique in checking the results of their First Certificate and Proficiency in English oral tests; with eighty to one hundred thousand oral tests per year, remarking or double marking all of them would be out of the question. Such a profile comparison with other subtest scores can be made very quickly, in their case, using a computer.

Eight, split the role of interviewer and marker between two people. It is difficult to assess an individual's oral performance dispassionately while trying to hold a reasonably authentic conversation.

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III. CONDITIONS FOR LEARNING

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Exploring in and Through Language

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It is rather amazing that people in "the same field," education in the present case, have seen child language learners in so many different and often conflicting ways. Teachers are regularly confronted with various ways of viewing the starting point—the child and how he or she learns. It is important to consider these different views of child learners with some care, because first and second language research indicates that—in the area of language development—some images of child learners just do not square with the facts and, therefore, the teaching approaches based on them cannot help children.

Images of passive learners abound—the child learner viewed as a lump of clay to be molded, as a blank slate to be written on, as an empty vessel to be filled. The Motherese research from first language—extensive and intensive study of the many ways adults adapt their language when they interact with infants and very young children—has dramatically documented the shaping effect that the *child* exerts on the adult's behavior, influencing the adult to behave verbally in ways that would be utterly bizarre in other contexts.

As an example, here's one short conversational turn by a mother who is preparing her seven-month-old child's breakfast while the child watches in her high chair.

> Are ya hungry? Are you hungry little girl? You want an egg? Momma fix you egg? OK., Momma's gonna fix you egg. What is this? What is this? An egg? For you? You can't wait? You can't wait to eat? Say "Hurry Momma, I'm hungry. Hurry Momma."

We become so accustomed to this speaking style used with young children that we sometimes fail to recognize how very specialized it is. The anamoly becomes apparent, however, when we consider a similar conversation taking place between two adults, one offering the other a drink:

> Are ya thirsty? Are you thirsty big girl? You want a drink? Judy fix you a drink? OK. Judy's gonna fix you drink. What is this? What is this? A drink? For you? You can't wait? You can't wait to drink? Say "Hurry Judy, I'm thirsty. Hurry, Judy."

Totally strange. And yet, as the Motherese research clearly documents, this specialized speaking style occurs in language after language and culture after culture, a language style caused by the presence of the immature conversational partner. Clearly the child is the shaper here and the adult is the clay.

Interestingly, second language research with children suggests that child native speakers adapt their language for the second language learning peer in some similar ways. Fillmore (1976) notes in her longitudinal study of the informal interactions of young (5 to 7-year-old) Spanish-dominant children playing with selected native English speaking partners, that the English speaking children used much repetition and paraphrase, limited vocabulary, simplified syntax, and especially the immediate context—here-and-now language rooted in the present situation. As with first language learning, so with second: the language learner is seen to be the shaper as well as the shapee. The image of the child language learner—first or second—as clay to be molded just won't do. Nor will the teaching approach which derives from it—a highly directive approach in which a teacher molds children into shapes that he or she wants them to have.

The blank slate and empty vessel images fare no better than the clay image as characterizations of language learners. Can we label "empty vessel" the second language learner who is five years old and comes to the task of second language learning with one well developed system of language structure and use, with well developed processes for figuring out how language works, with well developed conceptual understanding, with preferred individual cognitive and social strategies, with particular personality characteristics, attitudes, likes and dislikes—all of which will influence the child's learning of a second language? And can we label "blank slate" the language learner who takes the initiative—who asks question (What dis? What dat? Why?); who actively participates in language-full events, observing, conjecturing, producing language, and, of course, making errors that reflect his or her active figuring out of the structure of the first or second language? Here is a five-year-old monolingual English speaker telling his mother a story to accompany Mercer Mayer's wordless storybook *Hiccup*.

> The drink accidentally got on her and she was mad at him. But she forgived him . . . And they hollered at each other and they keeped on hiccupping . . . And she kicked him into the water. And she was a'laughin at him . . . and sticked her tongue out at him.

And here is an excerpt from a conversation in which several seven-year-old Spanish-dominant children are talking with an adult about the story *Put Me in the Zoo*.

> The boy and the girl is eat popcorn. Falling down the popcorn. Come falling down the popcorn. The dog have circle red. The girl have circle red. The tree have circle red.

It puzzles me when I encounter teachers who, as parents, are very accepting of their own children's first language developmental forms (she forgived him; they keeped on hiccupping), and yet zoom in with religious zeal to correct their ESL students' developmental forms like "He have circle red." In any case, these children aren't blank slates; they are language learners. Blank slates don't make errors; learners do. We reject these passive images because they are inaccurate characterizations of what child first and second language learners are and do. Along with them, we reject the teaching approaches rooted in them—"fill 'er up" or "moving finger writes" approaches in which teachers place their selected somethings into children's nothingness.

But when we turn to more active images we find an array. First, the pathological image. The child in this view is actively doing something—making mistakes. What is important is what the child is doing wrong. The terms we use convey the notion of the child learner as an unhealthy individual in need of help. We are advised to begin by "diagnosing" (a medical term) and then "prescribing" (another medical term) and "treating" (yet another medical term). The pathology connotation here is unmistakable. And so we hear the children's overgeneralized forms like "comed" and "goed" or their optionally interchangeable forms like "say" and "tell" as "having trouble with verbs" rather than as the robust and healthy behaviors of children actively making sense of how a language works to express meaning.

It's interesting to me that this pathology notion is particularly prevalent in the area of language development—both first and second—and particularly prevalent in the school setting. There are many other areas where the child's behavior is farther from matching the adult behavior yet we don't view it as pathological or problematic at all. An obvious example is the child who doesn't walk yet. Now we know that 8-month-olds get around by crawling and adults get around by walking. Further, we know that the 8-month-old will eventually give up his or her crawling in favor of walking. However, we don't see the 8-month-old's crawling as "a walking problem." We see it, rather, as a legitimate behavior—*crawling*. Why then, I ask myself, do we consider the child's "sticked" or "brang" or "He have circle red" as language problems, rather than as healthy, appropriate, legitimate behaviors? We reject this pathological image, not because it is unkind to children, but because it is inaccurate. With it goes the teaching approach that devises a curriculum based on these supposed "problems" and then sets about to erradicate them one by one, an approach which is often called "meeting the needs of the individual child."

We have available to us a very different image that sees children and their development—especially in language—as good, totally good. It is the plant image. This image suggests that, given the right kind of greenhouse conditions, the child language learner will simply bloom into language. This image is not to be so readily dismissed as the others, because it says some things about children's language learning which are true. We know that maturational processes are involved in children's language development: for example, the length of children's utterances in a new language increases over time, apparently partially the result of increasing memory and processing capacity; the vocal organs become increasingly under one's physical control over time; one's cognitive maturity—so basic in one's learning and using language effectively—develops over time. The plant image suggests something else that we believe to be true: that human beings are born well adapted for figuring out and using language. However, the plant image fails to capture the fact that we are not simply well adapted for getting watered, but rather that we are well adapted for actively making sense of language as we interact meaningfully with others in a language-filled world. We are not simply born to *grow* in language; we are born to *do* in language, figuring it out as we go along.

Fortunately there are other images of child language learners that see the child as healthy and also as active. The hunter/gatherer image is one. Here the child learner is seen as a healthy, hearty individual whose activity is to search for and gather into his or her storehouse bits of information and skill, and eventually, when the child has collected enough, he or she will be able to use it in what is sometimes called "real life" (as opposed to "the classroom").

There is a serious problem here. If a child's school experience—in excess of 30 hours a week for approximately 13 years—isn't "real life," I can't quite imagine what is "real life" for children for those 13 years. We see this hunter/gatherer approach in second language classrooms where children do language drills and dialogs for the purpose of "collecting" a supply of sentence patterns or forms that they can subsequently use. But the problem here is that, if there is one area in life where we "learn by doing" (as the saying goes), language is it. We learn language—whether first or second—by *doing* it, by *languaging*, by engaging in using language meaningfully in interaction with others, NOT by accumulating language bits in a big pile in our storehouse. The image goes, and with it goes the teaching approach that is essentially cumulative.

Another image—the builder image—solves this problem of language as an accumulation of bits and pieces. In the builder image, the child acts on his or her environment (to use Piaget's phrase), constructing his or her own meanings, interpretations, understandings and expressions from abundant and diverse encounters with people and objects. Meanings do not come to the child ready-made, but rather the child makes sense, that is, *constructs* sense of ongoing experience. And this, in fact, we know to be true. When a grandmother discovered crayon marks on her wall, her three-year-old grandson explained that he had put them there, but that it had been—in his words—"a accident. I couldn't find a piece of paper." Another three-year-old, when asked what "share" meant, replied, "It means I get to play with somebody else's toys." A four-year-old, having found only one shoe of the pair, asked, "Where is the other shoe that rhymes with this one?" One child in Fillmore's study used the word "sangwish" to refer to all food; another used the question formulas "Wha' happen?" and "Wha'sa matter?" as all-purpose inquiries. In all these cases we have language learners constructing meanings and expression of them that will work as they interact with others.

This builder image goes a very long way toward capturing what we know to be true of the language learning processes of children. However, it is less than perfect in two ways. First, it fails to capture the interactive process so centrally involved in language learning.

The first language research of Gordon Wells from the University of Bristol impressively documents the crucial importance of interaction in a child's language development. Wells worked with a large research team, following substantial numbers of children in naturalistic situations and recording their language with the most sophisticated equipment available (much of which did not require the child to be confined in a limited area). The children were followed for extended periods of time (Data on some children span an age range of 15 months to 7 years.) Wells' (1981, 17) powerful conclusion at the end of this extensive research was this: ". . . conversation is the all-important context of language development." Gordon Wells is not given to exaggeration and easy overstatement. Note, conversation is not, in his view, *an* important context, but rather *THE all-important* context of language development. Fillmore's research in second language acquisition suggests a similar conclusion. It was in situations involving meaningful conversation in the second language (English in this case) that the language learner got relevant "samples" of the language and, more importantly, actively participated in the communication event, e.g., in dramatic play situations. Not surprisingly, those children who were most effective in their learning of the second language were those who chose and participated most fully in activities involving meaningful conversation with English speakers. The builder image is imperfect in that it suggests a child who *acts on* materials but doesn't *interact* with those materials in the sense of initiating and responding to cues from them. Lumber and bricks just don't give back to you the way that those all-important conversational partners do as you learn language.

The second problem with the builder image is the permanence and inflexibility the image suggests. The better the building is, the more permanent it is. Not so in language learning. The more flexible the learning, the more powerful and effective it is. The most striking example comes from Fillmore's (1976) two subjects, Juan and Nora. Nora, a monolingual Spanish-speaker at the beginning of the school year, was speaking English "very nearly as well as her English monolingual friends" by the end of the school year (704). Juan, on the other hand, would have needed two more years, by Fillmore's figuring, to attain that same level. Fillmore reports that "Nora was quite uninhibited in her attempts at speaking the new language," (711) that she was inclined to be "experimental and playful in [her effort] to speak English" (711), that she engaged in syntactic play (711). Juan, in contrast, took a "one-step-at-a-time approach" and "did not attempt to use what he was learning until he had most of the details worked out" (714). It seems we would do better to support second language learners' flexibility and playfulness in the new language, than to support their building of fixed and permanent structures.

Though some of these images capture some important aspects of child language learners, none does the whole job. What image can we find that is, at one and the same time, active, healthy, interactive, and dynamic like the language learning children we know and teach? For me the image that works—the image that adequately characterizes children's language learning activity and clearly indicates my role as teacher—that image is the child as explorer. An active image. A healthy image. A dynamic image. An interactive image—especially for second language learners who, in their interactions with the "natives," try to find out what that language is for them.

But for all our knowing and believing that child language learners are explorers, we face a real challenge when we come to the classroom intending to support the language learning efforts of explorers. Traditionally our schools have provided environments for *performers*, not for explorers. The goal has traditionally been that children will demonstrate *what* they know and can do, rather than that they will explore in order to know and do better as they go along.

> —Explorers ask questions: What does gravity look like? Are there more stars in the sky or in a million cans of chicken and stars soup? If everybody in the world keeps drinking water, are we going to run out of water some day? People say that no two snowflakes look exactly alike. How do they know that? How can they tell? How could anybody have possibly looked at every snowflake? (One four-year-old explorer told his mother, "I'm a why-er, you are a because-er!") (Chukovsky 1968, p. 31)
>
> But in typical classrooms, teachers ask questions—not in order to learn (which is the explorer's way of asking) but in order to test—in order to elicit a performance from the child.
>
> —Explorers decide what they are going to do, initiate, make plans, and actively carry out their plans.
>
> But in typical classrooms, it is the teacher who decides what children will do, the teacher who makes the plans the child must carry out. It is the teacher who selects tasks, structures them, assigns them.
>
> —The explorer's goal is to understand better what he or she wants to understand.
>
> But in typical classrooms, the goal the child must meet is the teacher's goal and it is a testing goal, a performance goal: the child will demonstrate by completing assigned work accurately, neatly and on time, that he or she knows or can do what the teacher has decided the child should know or do.

If the learner who comes to us as an explorer and the "learning environment" we provide is one for performers, we have a mismatch of major proportions. We can hardly hope that the child will learn effectively.

As classroom teachers, we know how to provide an environment for performers. This is the environment we were trained to provide, it's the one we see in operation around us most often; it's the environment that often gets the principal's and language supervisor's support and praise; it's the one administrators and often parents like because it is quiet; orderly, controlled. It's the approach that moves relentlessly toward the attainment of precisely stated behavioral objectives, assessing attainment of each one with care. It's the approach that covers a prepared, prescribed, explicit, step-by-step curriculum day after day. We have no end of examples of performer classrooms. But we are very short of models of classrooms for explorers in and through language. Fortunately, however, we do find some such classrooms, we recognize them when we find them and, above all, we can describe them.

Here is what we find there. First, we find *children questioning*—questioning both to gain information, and to initiate or sustain a social interaction (Did you see M*A*S*H last night? Ya' know what? Wanna play?). The second language learner's "What's that?" or "How you do dese?" elicit information. That's important. But the second language learner's 'C'n I play?" or "You know what dese doing?" provide entry into social interaction, the very situation that will provide authentic language samples for the language learner. (It's interesting that traditional ESL approaches typically started the learner off with identification items like "This is a pencil. This is a desk. This is a book," etc. One would have to go far to find a more sure-fire conversation stopper than "This is a spoon"; whereas the simple identification question "What's this?" or "What's that?" gives the child a way of gaining both information and interaction with speakers of the target language. It is the *question* that is the gift that keeps on giving for language explorers. In explorer classrooms, children will question more and teachers will question less—and differently; they will question as real learners themselves, not as testers.

Second, we find *children initiating* and teachers responding, building on and out from children's interests. Frank Smith (1973, 195) suggests that the one difficult way to make learning easy is this: "Respond to what the child is trying to do." If responding to and building on children's own interests and initiations is helpful in furthering the language development of first language children, how much more important will it be for second language learners whose interests and initiations indicate areas where they feel confident, competent, and comfortable?

Third, we find *diverse experiences* available and in progress—children engaged in different activities rather than all proceeding in lock step. Important for the first language learner? Of course. But even more so for the second language learner who functions best when he or she can choose an activity which is comfortable to explore and language in.

Fourth, we find an abundance of *interaction*—conversation, "the all-important context of language development." Again, the importance to the second language learner is special. Fillmore points out that the second language learner's initial concern is a social one—to be part of the group. It is a later concern to convey specific messages in the new language, and later still comes a concern for speaking correctly. Note that this sequence—from interactional to informational to correct—is exactly the opposite of the traditional ESL method that moved from correct verbalization of essentially meaningless, contextless sentences, toward meaningful and socially purposeful speech. And obviously, the second language learner needs authentic, contextualized samples of the new language in order to learn it. These are abundant in an interactive classroom.

Finally, we find *meaning-full-ness* in children's activity and in the language that lives in it. This means that we hear teachers responding to children's language meanings—whatever the forms of their expression. It means we do not hear teachers correcting children's language forms, but rather we hear teachers doing what mothers have always done with first language learners—responding to the child's message. Cazden (1976) stresses the need for teachers to let children's "language forms recede into the transparency that they deserve" (p. 10)—for teachers to hear through the forms children use to the meanings they express.

I'm going to suggest three areas of activities that we can make available to our children that I believe fit our characterization of exploratory classrooms—that is, activity types that permit children to *question* and to *initiate*, that provide *diversity* and *meaning-full interaction*. They are not new activities that I have "discovered" or "created." They do not come in an impressive kit. Quite the opposite. I am not going for something as yet untried, but rather pulling out language activities that children have been telling us for years that they enjoy engaging in. I think it's time we listened to the children.

It's a bit dangerous to do this because the starting place for classroom activity is—must always be—the individual child and where he or she is coming from. It can be an idle and irrelevant exercise to suggest activities apart from the very children who must somehow be their source and reason for being. But with that word of caution, I' m going to go ahead, using as my starting point the children I have known, observed, and taught. I start with a distinction that became quite apparent to me in my early days of teaching second grade. It's the distinction between "have to" and "get to." I hadn't been teaching very long before I became aware that there were certain types of activities of which my children always asked "Are we going to *get to* do X today?" and others of which they invariably asked, "Are we gonna *have to* do Y today?" I wish that I had understood then as I do now, the importance of going with and building on and out from the "get to's." It is three of those "get to" activities that I want to consider.

The first is what I'd have to label "play"—that is, activities that the child considers play—activities he or she chooses to engage in and how to engage in and with whom to engage in, and which—in Catherine Garvey's (1977) terms—are "buffered"—free of heavy real world consequences. They are not risky activities—there is no price to pay for doing them "wrong" and no brownie points to be gained for doing them "right." These activities might very well have the look of "work" to an adult observer, as for example when the children might choose to "play" with magnets or balance scales or floating and sinking objects or classroom pets—the kind of behavior David Hawkins (1965) in science education calls "messing about." But these activities are play to the children engaging in them, and it is the children's perspective which is relevant here. I think immediately of children I see nowadays at centers:

—in the sociodramatic play area where children are playing out various familiar themes of home and school and shopping, or imaginative themes involving TV or story characters;
—in the building area where children are constructing a small-scale town or airport, or a permanent cage for a class pet;
—in the games and puzzles area where friends are doing separate puzzles side-by-side or working on one puzzle jointly, while other children in twos and threes are playing card or board games;
—in the science area where children are looking at common objects under a magnifying glass or watching—just watching—fish in an aquarium;
—in the art area where friends are creating with paint and clay.

Sometimes in the classrooms that I observe in I find these "play" activities, but they are "throw away" activities—fillers—the free time activities children engage in when (if ever) their "real work" is finished. But the point is, these *are* the child's real work—play *is* the child's work. These need to occupy a position of major importance. Fillmore (1976, 731) points out that children's "customary way of interacting with others is in play, and play provides the perfect situation for language learning." When Fillmore wrote those words she was thinking of the second language learner. Play offers a variety of situations, all of them abundant in meaningful and contextualized conversation—the perfect context for children to actively participate and belong in as they learn the second language. But "play" is "the perfect situation" for the first language child also, because it fits explorer specifications: a situation in which children can (and do) *question* (informationally and interactionally), *initiate*, choose, interact with a variety of partners and for a variety of real purposes; in play, children use language to argue, make decisions, plan, justify, persuade, entertain, invite, request, inform, inquire, comfort, express opinions and feelings, and on and on—all the legitimate and authentic purposes which language serves are there, actively used as children play.

A second category of "get tos" for my second graders and for many school children I have known since, was that old favorite, much maligned by adults but *never* by children, show and tell. Language education researchers are coming to take show and tell very seriously; children always have. This was a major "get to" for my second graders and I very much wish now that I had not so often relegated it to the category "If we have time." I see now, as I didn't then, what rich possibilities there are here for the language explorer, especially the second language learner. The potential for powerful child questioning is there (Some of the richest curiosity questioning I hear comes in Show and Tell in classrooms where teachers handle the activity skillfully), the potential for child initiation, for meaningful interaction among children, for diversity—it's all there. In short, show and tell offers everything we ask of an environment sensitive and responsive to explorers. At least, the potential is there, but not if we always and only handle show and tell in the usual way. We typically relegate it to a bad time—the end of the day or some odd time when we need a filler. Then too often we get a dialog pattern something like this:

T: O.K. Johnny's turn. What did you bring today, Johnny?
C: A truck.
T: Hmmmmm. That's very nice. Where did you get it?
C: My Daddy buyed it for me.
T: Well, I know you like it a lot. It's special, isn't it?
C: Yes.
T: Thank you for bringing it to show us. Now was there someone else—Jenny, what did you bring?

We tend to fall quickly into the pattern of asking limited, dead end sorts of questions that have the effect of closing off rather than extending, inviting. But we only need to think a minute to get a sense of the possibilities here: we start with a child, an object of his or her interest, other children interested in the object—these are the ingredients of that particular "get to." But why do we always use the same tired format—the child with object stands before class of children seated in circle on the rug.

—Why not, sometimes, a display-type format in which the day's show-ers and tellers set themselves up in different areas of the classroom. Each will need enough space to demonstrate what his or her object can do and to allow other children to try it out. Classmates of the show-ers and tellers move freely from one area to another according to their particular interests. The language here is likely to be more conversational and less staged than in the typical format.

—Why not extend this display type format into a sort of "show and tell fair" in which all the children in one classroom "show and tell" (in friendship pairs, perhaps, in order to maximize the language opportunities for planning and for conversing) and invite the children of another classroom to come to the fair?

—Or why not, sometimes, divide the children into five show-and-tell-groups (Obviously this is going to work best if children select the people they want to be with) and *every* day for one week, *every* child in the group shows and tells to the others in that group. A show and tell sack for each child helps to keep each child's "show" concealed until the big moment.

—Or why not sometimes have one child from each group be the Monday show-er, another child from each group be the Tuesday show-er, etc. And then on the given day, those show-ers (one from each group) individually move from group to group, showing their treasures. This means that each child will show and talk about his or her object several times, once with each group.

And so on. Anyone who interacts with children daily can think of more and better examples than these. The examples I'm giving for variation here are trivial but the point is not: to start with children's interest—a "get to," meaningful situations of interaction for children. This is "real life" languaging, the most appropriate kind for explorers. What "sharing time" offers for second language learners is especially appropriate. It provides the perfect situation for the child to participate in socially, the first concern of the second language learner. It provides contextual support that will help the child to convey his or her meanings and to grasp those expressed by others. Above all, it provides a real reason—real to *children*—for interacting with one another; a shared interest is inevitably a powerful reason to ask and tell each other things. Everything we want for language explorers is here. We hear children questioning (What's this for? What does this thing sticking out over here do? Hey, what would happen if you tried it this way?), we see children initiating and implementing in their own ways, we see diversity, we hear children interacting in meaningful conversation.

The third "get to" category let's call "the story." What could be simpler—and yet more rich and complex and compelling. Again, we're starting with a "get to"—something children and adults the world over love (which must be why there is no culture without a tradition of "story"). We have here an event that is real languaging—an interactive event between teller and told-to. Obviously what we usually do is seat the children around us and read a story. That's fine, but is it just a filler—ten minutes before we have to go to lunch? Or, is it major, every day, and well-selected? Do we take it seriously? Research is strongly suggesting the importance of bathing children in the sound of written language. Frank Smith cites as one of the two prerequisites for successful reading, a sense of the sound of written language. (Smith 1977) But if it *is* important, why just read a story once and then it's over? Why don't we tape *every* story we read to the children and take the tape and book immediately to the listening center. Every experienced teacher well knows that there are many stories that many children will go back to over and over again. As with play and show and tell, the ingredients here in the story situation are simple: a "get to" that involves a story, a teller, a listener, a telling—a method of presentation. Varying each ingredient expands and extends this "get to."

What are the stories? Storybooks? Fine, but what about:

- —True stories from other lives, perhaps, but how about from our *own*? Children love these. (Once upon a time, oh a very long time ago, when I was six years old . . .")
- —Narrative songs and poems.
- —Wordless storybooks. (Never have we had such a rich and wonderful collection available as we do now.)
- —Picture story sets—commercially available sets like those in *Interaction*, (Moffett 1973) but even more important, what about sets our children make from selected magazine pictures that we laminate? Or from Polaroid pictures? (There are wonderful languaging opportunities in the making of such sets, as well as in the use of them.)
- —Children's stories told and/or written. Paley's kindergartners dictate stories for her to write down for them every day. Then the author chooses actors to dramatize the story. This is a major activity in that particular kindergarten. (Paley 1981)

Who are the tellers? You in person? Fine, but what about:

- —You on tape. You can tape many stories and put them in the listening center.
- —Professionals on records or tapes at the listening center. (This opens the door to a whole world of voices, dialects, speaking styles.)
- —People in your school whom your children admire (the principal, perhaps, or older children from upper grades? Why not take requests and issue invitations?).
- —People from your community—especially parents. (Again, this gets you to a wonderful variety of voices, dialects, languages, speaking styles—as well as providing a great sharing experience: Everyone loves story!)
- —Professional on cassette/filmstrip stories like those available through Weston Woods.
- —Children in your class who have told their stories on tape for wordless storybooks or picture narratives.

Who are the listeners? We think of a whole group setting, all the children on the rug clustered around the teacher. Fine, but what about:

- —An individual child, alone at a listening center.
- —The child listening with several friends at the listening center.
- —Partners in a quiet corner—classmates, perhaps, or an individual child with his or her story partner from an upper grade.
- —Small groups of children in the listening center, following the taped storyteller with their own matched books.
- —Small groups of children listening to stories told or read by a parent volunteer or classroom visitor.

How is the story conveyed? By an adult—you—reading aloud to a large listening group? Fine, but what about:

—The story TOLD, not read, in person.

—The story acted—through creative drama, perhaps, or with puppets—finger puppets, hand puppets, people puppets wearing grocery sacks.

—The story told (or read) and acted simultaneously—by all or by some of the children

—Professional presentations on tape, record, etc.

—And most basic of all, the *book*—the direct encounter with the author and illustrator without any interpreter or intermediary.

Story—show and tell—play—just three examples of "get tos" for first and second language explorers—*doers* in and through language. We won't find these activities much in classrooms where language learners are viewed as passive (clay, blank slates, empty vessels); and we won't find them in classrooms where children are seen either as essentially sick—mistake-makers—or in classrooms where they're seen essentially as maturing into full and beautiful bloom. We won't find them much in classrooms where children hunt and gather (What does a child "gather" in play that the accumulation-oriented teacher would value?), though we may find them a bit in builder classrooms. But we will—we *do*—find these activities in *abundance* in explorer classrooms where language learners are questioning and initiating in diverse and meaning-full interaction.

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The Language Learner as an Individual: Implications of Research on Individual Differences for the ESL Teacher

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Introduction

Anyone who works with second language learners, whether in teaching or in research, discovers quickly how much individual variation there is in the ability to learn new languages. There are always a few learners who can learn the new language quickly. With little help from others, and with little apparent effort on their own part, some learners are able to become quite proficient in the new language after a year or two of exposure to it. There are many other learners, however, who acquire almost nothing of the new language in the same amount of time, no matter how hard they try or how much help they are given. It is not uncommon for some students to spend three or four years just getting the language sorted out well enough to produce recognizable utterances in the new language. This great variability across individual learners in how long it takes them to learn English, and in how much help they need from others in order to learn at all, constitutes a major problem for educators wherever there are sizeable numbers of non-English speaking students attending school.

In the United States today, there are approximately three and a half million students in the public schools who are non-native-speakers of English. A recent study sponsored by the National Institute of Education and the National Center for Educational Statistics indicates that some 2.4 million of these language minority students are limited in English proficiency and are in need of special educational assistance to deal with the linguistic demands of the American classroom (O'Malley, 1981). One of the first tasks that these children face upon entering school is that of learning the language spoken there. This task is not a small one; it is about as complex and demanding as any they will encounter in their total educational experience. In fact, what they are able to get out of their educational experience may depend greatly on how well they cope with the task of learning English in the first years of school. This is especially true where English is in exclusive use as the language of instruction in the classroom. Until English is mastered, students in such situations can get little out of school academically.

For students who are able to learn the language quickly, the initial inability to speak the school language constitutes a temporary inconvenience rather than a major social and educational handicap (Swain, 1979; Lambert & Tucker, 1972). What is missed during the brief time it takes them to learn English is not much, and is easily enough picked up afterwards. For those who are not so fortunate, the inability to speak English can become a major educational barrier, one that often has lasting emotional, social and academic consequences (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1975). While they are struggling to learn the language of school, they get little out of school *but* English. They get little out of the subject matter instruction they receive in school when it is given in a language they barely know, and which they are just learning. At any rate, they get far less out of instruction presented in a language they are just learning than they would if it were being given in a language they already knew. Because it takes them so long to learn the language well enough to handle its use in school, they are likely to find themselves too far behind in school by the time they do learn English to ever catch up. The consequence of this kind of early experience in school can be an enduring sense of personal failure and frustration.

This situation poses a major problem for educators who are concerned with the schooling of limited-English-speaking (LES) students in the United States. Many people in our society believe that English can be taught and learned just as any other school subject, and that the variability observed in how well students learn English is the same kind of variability seen in student performance in any other part of the school curriculum. The explanation here, as elsewhere, is that uneven student performance is evidence either that the programs by which these students are being instructed are not effective enough or, that some students are simply not trying hard enough to learn. Behind the latter supposition is the unspoken suspicion that some students may be deficient in their ability to learn English at all. The underlying assumption is that rapid learning of a new language is the norm (requiring, say, one or two years of exposure at most), and that therefore students who do not learn quickly are evidence of deficiencies in either the program or in the students themselves. The implicit belief is that a truly effective program must in principle work equally well for everyone, and that when educators come up with the ideal formula, then all LES students will be able to learn the school language with comparable ease and success (Baker & de Kanter, 1981:p.15). So far, however, the ideal universal formula has not been found.

Bilingual education, by offering LES students subject matter instruction in their primary language, is a formula than can accommodate the differences to be found among these children in the rate and ease with which they learn

English. The subject matter instruction they receive in their primary language makes it possible for even the slowest language learners to deal with academic instruction in school and, hence, to avoid the school failure that would be inevitable if they were being instructed exclusively in the language that they were trying to learn. What bilingual education cannot do, and what it does not ordinarily claim to do, is speed up the process by which learners acquire English. It *can*, however, make the process less painful, and hence, make it easier for language minority students to learn English. Nevertheless, the performance of children in bilingual education in terms of how expeditiously they learn English is often taken as an indication of whether or not these programs are effective enough to warrant their continuation. The test of a program's effectiveness in this view is its ability to equalize learning for all students. Research evidence that appears to show that bilingual programs may not be equalizing educational outcomes for all of the students they serve is being cited as arguments against their continuation. Many educators in the United States are now proposing ESL programs as alternatives to bilingual education programs. Such proposals have gained support in the two years since a court case involving the Fairfax (Virginia) County Schools was decided with the Court ruling that the District's ESL program was meeting the educational and linguistic needs of LES students as required by the 1974 Supreme Court ruling in the Lau v. Nichols case. In these next few years, ESL programs will be put to the test. Other schools will be adopting them as alternatives to bilingual programs. Is it the ideal or universal educational formula that will work for everyone, or will it in the end be like every other program? That is, will there still be students who, after six or eight years of ESL instruction, lack the language skills needed for surviving in school?

The next few years will be crucial ones for the TESOL profession. In particular, it will be necessary to train teachers and to develop methods and materials for introducing ESL instruction for LES students at every grade level in the public schools. In order for the field to meet that challenge, it must learn more about the many ways in which individuals differ in how they learn new languages, and in the kinds of help they need in order to do it successfully.

The Berkeley Research Project[1]

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some work that is being conducted in Berkeley by a team of University of California researchers on sources of individual differences in second language learning, and to suggest ways in which some of the findings of this research can guide the development of future programs. Research on individual differences in second language acquisition is generally concerned with identifying, among learners, the sources of variation that can be observed in how fast and how well they learn new languages (Carroll, 1979; Brown, 1973; Swain & Burnaby, 1976; Zampogna, et al, 1976). The Berkeley Individual Differences Project is investigating sources of variation of two major types: *learner characteristics*, by which we have in mind social and cognitive differences in learners that affect the way they approach and handle the activities that are a necessary part of learning a new language (Wong Fillmore, 1979), and *situational characteristics*, those features of the settings in which learning occurs that affect the kind and amount of opportunities that learners find to hear and use the language being learned.

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[1] "Sources of Individual Differences in Second Language Learning", sponsored by the National Institute of Education. [NIE-079-0118] Lily Wong Fillmore, Principal Investigator; Susan Ervin-Tripp, Co-Principal Investigator.

These factors are being studied in a three year project in which the learning of English by young Cantonese and Spanish speaking children has been observed and tracked longitudinally over a period of three years. Members of the Berkeley research group began following some sixty non-English speakers as they entered kindergarten, and ended up with forty-three of them, three years later as they finished the second grade.[2] These children were distributed in four kindergarten classes during the first year of study. The Spanish-speakers were in two bilingual classes, while the Cantonese-speakers were divided between a bilingual class and one that could be described as an English immersion kindergarten. The language learning of these children was observed over the first two years of the study with as much scrutiny as could be tolerated by the University's Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects. There were one or two, and often three, researchers in each of these classes nearly every day of the first year of the study, observing the language learning efforts of the children. The observational schedule was somewhat more relaxed during the second year. We had observers in such classroom only 3 or 4 days each week. For two years then, our subjects were closely observed as they learned and used English in the classroom, and they were also tested and interviewed in order to determine what they were like as learners and how much they had learned of the new language. After the second year, we followed the children from afar, and restricted ourselves to a single testing of their English language proficiency at the end of three years of exposure to it in school.

The objective of the study is to establish the extent to which two sets of learner characteristics—what we have called *language learning style characteristics* and *social style characteristics*—affect speed and success in language learning. Language learning style involves aptitudinal characteristics such as verbal memory (defined here as the ability to remember and to reproduce linguistic materials produced by others), verbal fluency and flexibility (ease of production, facility with words, and the ability to think of alternative ways of saying things), and sensitivity to linguistic context and patterning (the ability to guess at meaning, and to find patterns in linguistic materials). These are cognitive characteristics that affect the learner's ability to handle the analytical activities that have to be carried out in determining how the new language is structured and how meanings get expressed in it. Social style involves interactional characteristics of learners as in their social skills (competence in handling interpersonal relations), sociability (outgoingness and desire for contact with others), communicative needs (talkativeness, etc.) and activity preferences (whether they prefer activities that involve a lot of interaction and talk with others, or activities that are largely solitary and non-verbal in nature. These are social characteristics that can affect the learner's ability to interact with speakers of the language being learned, and hence the quantity and quality of the linguistic input to which the individual has access. Our goal is to establish just how these characteristics affect the learner's efforts to acquire the new language, and to determine whether these learner variables interact in any way with situational variables to affect the individual's ability to find and make use of opportunities to learn the new language.

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[2] We have first year data on 57 subjects, second year data on 48, and some third year data on 43.

A massive amount of data has been collected in this study: language data that include elicited and spontaneous speech samples taken at regular intervals throughout the first two years that we tracked the language learning efforts of our subjects; test data that deal with the specific learner characteristics being examined in the study; and observational data on the social and interactive styles of the subjects and of the uses they made of opportunities to learn the new language. We have also collected a considerable amount of ethnographic data on the classroom settings in which our subjects are learning much of their language, as well as data on their home and after-school experiences. These data are currently being analyzed, and we will be reporting findings on the major questions addressed in the study before long.[3]

This paper discusses some general findings that derive from a preliminary examination of the data, especially that which come from our extensive observations of the children as they attempted to learn and use their new language during their first two years in school.

What have we learned so far? Several conclusions are quite clear:

First, there is no single way to characterize either the good or the poor learners. The learner variables we have been studying appear to affect different individuals differently, working in combination with other factors which appear to compensate for, neutralize, or mitigate their effect.

Second, the relationship between the learner variables we have been studying, and speed and success in language learning is not a simple one. Variables in the language learning setting appear to affect the process in important ways.

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[3] Several aspects of this research have been reported on in separate papers. See especially Beh-Bennett, 1982; Cathcart, 1982; Cheung, 1982; Larsen, 1982; Miller, 1982; Parker, 1982; Reyes-Hailey, 1980; Strong, 1982; Wong Fillmore, 1980, 1982.

Third, the overall variation we found in how much the children were able to learn turned out to be much greater than we had anticipated, especially during the first two years.

Good Language Learners

Out of the 48 subjects we observed during the first two years, a total of 18 (or 38%) eventually could be described as "pretty good language learners", comparatively speaking, by virtue of their ability to communicate satisfactorily in English with their teachers, classmates, and members of the research team. There were clear limits to what they could do with the language at the end of two years, but as a group, they seemed clearly better than their classmates in their control over the new language. Not all of the children we eventually included in this group impressed us immediately as successful language learners. Seven of them were thought to be generally non-spectacular, and one was classified as quite slow at the end of the first year, having apparently learned close to nothing at all during his first year of exposure to English. These initially slow language learners picked up momentum during the second year and, by the end of that year, were fairly comparable in skill to many of those who had had rapid progress during the first year. There were, in addition, several children who made fair progress during the first year but did not do as well during the second. These learners, after an initial fast start, seemed to have arrived at a plateau in their development, and did not continue to learn as quickly during the second year. By the end of that year, these learners had been surpassed by some of those who were making slow but steady gains in their control over the new language. Twelve of the 18 subjects (or 25% of the 48 described here as "pretty good language learners") were actually advanced enough in their English development at the end of the second year to be described as unqualified "good language learners". (Only 5 of these 12, however, were actually fluent in English by the end of the second year, as it turned out.)

What were the "good learners" like as a group? They did not, as noted above, fall into a single type. About a half of these children had the characteristics that would have led us to predict success for them: they were highly sociable and outgoing; they were talkative and eager to communicate with anyone who was reasonably receptive to them. Most of the children in this subgroup were highly verbal; several had mouths that seemed to operate non-stop around the clock.

But not all of the good learners were like that. At least 4 of our "good learners" were very quiet: they were children who had seemed to have little to say about anything, and they rarely spoke unless they were prodded. Another 6, while not downright unsociable, seldom went out of their way to be with other children. The children in this subgroup could be described as studious, work-oriented, and introverted; in short, they had the characteristics that Merrill Swain and her colleagues found to correlate highly with good language learning in their Toronto study of individual differences in second language learning (Swain & Burnaby, 1976). Most of these children were fairly competent, socially and academically speaking, and they were generally rated as "good students" by their teachers.

Characteristic of this subgroup of good learners was an ability to figure out what was going on in their classes most of the time even when they had little understanding of what was actually being said. These children tended to be both analytical and curious, and they were able, it seems, to make good use of situational cues in interpreting messages when their knowledge of the language failed them. Once after the showing of a film on tooth decay in one of our classrooms, members of the research team interviewed a number of the children in that class on what they thought the film was about. Since the movie was done in animation, it held nearly everyone's attention from start to finish. But because of the way the message was being presented in the film, the viewer had to be able to understand the voice-over narrative in order to know what was going on. What appeared on the screen would not by itself have allowed the viewer to figure out what the intended message was. The action began with a view of a screen-sized open mouth, and as the camera zoomed past the lips and in on the teeth (which did not look like real teeth at all), a writhing ghostlike apparition appeared from between the teeth, a Placque-Man spreading the pall of tooth-decay, gum disease, and bad breathe throughout the gaping cavern. The non-English speaking children in this class were as fascinated as the English-speakers were with what they had seen. Few of them, however, got the message intended by the film. Those non-English speakers who, according to our notes, were able to figure out more or less what the film's message was, were among the subjects who eventually became the best language learners. They might have known some of the words they were hearing, and they must have been able to figure out why they would be seeing, in school, a movie about bad things happening in someone's mouth. Those who turned out to be the poorest language learners had no good guesses as to what the movie was about. One such child had no idea that the events depicted in the film were taking place in a mouth, and seemed certain that the movie was about Halloween.

While some of the good language learners were also good students, about a third of them were really quite indifferent as scholars. These children spent more time than they should have during class socializing and minding everyone elses's business. They were children who tended to be thoroughly engaged in anything they happened to be doing. Several of them were regular busybodies: they were constantly involved in the affairs of their classmates, and they spent much of their time gossiping, bickering, tattling, and lecturing one another on behavior and morals. Once after one of the children had apparently taken and stashed away for himself something that was thought to be the common property of the class, one of these good learners, a Cantonese speaker, was overheard scolding the alleged offender:

> "*When you're grown up,* (Said while tapping first the table, and then her interlocutor's arm to make her point,) *and you steal things, your wife, your wife isn't going to like you!*" (All of this was said in Cantonese, of course.)

Poor Language Learners

Let us consider the children who were poor language learners. There were 14 children who could be described as such at the end of the first year. These were children who learned virtually nothing of English during that time. Four of them eventually learned enough to move out of this group, but the remaining ten (21% of the 48) were poor learners to the end. By the end of two years, they had almost nothing to show for their language learning efforts. Perhaps none of them was altogether English-free, but these children could by no means be described as "limited-English-speakers" even.

What were these poor language learners like? Eight of the 14 were the kind of children we might have predicted would be poor learners. They were shy, withdrawn non-participants who had enormous difficulty interacting with classmates and teachers. We have numerous observations of these children (in some cases full-day video records of individuals) walking around by themselves, approaching first one group of classmates and then another, then hurrying away when it appeared that they might have been noticed. These children, when they are addressed by others, tend to lower their eyes or turn their heads to avoid eye-contact. They are not necessarily socially immature, but they lack the social skills that are needed to interact with either the grown-ups or the children in their worlds. Much of the difficulty experienced by these children in learning the new language might be attributed to these social characteristics. Because they lacked the social skills and confidence to interact with others, they tended to be cut off from people who could provide them with the input and support they needed for language learning. Perhaps they really did not want contact with others, in which case, they would not have been motivated to talk with them; they certainly were not motivated to learn a language *before* they could talk with them.

But of course these characteristics did not always have the same effect on language learning. Recall that four of the "good language learners" were also shy, fairly uncommunicative children. What was the difference? It seems that while these four children were shy and uncommunicative, they were, at the same time, also inclined to be attentive listeners and quite observant. These children tended to pay close attention when their teachers talked to them, and they seemed to be observing, if not participating in, most of the activities that took place in the classroom around them. Thus, as by-standers, they observed and listened, and were apparently picking up the language they heard their classmates and teachers using, although they seldom used it themselves. Such learners generally gave little evidence that they were learning anything, at least until they were prodded into making some sort of response to our elicitation efforts. Then they let us know that there is more than one way to learn a new language.

But back to the poor language learners. A second type could be characterized as social misfits. At least four of the poor learners were children who could be described as aggressive and socially inept. They were definitely neither shy nor reclusive, but they had as much difficulty interacting with peers as the shy ones did. One of these children, a rather hefty and overweight boy, took enormous pleasure in throwing his full weight around, generally on whatever unfortunate person happened to be within range of his body. It was a form of interaction, to be sure, but it was not a very productive one where language learning was concerned. Another of these children, a girl, spent much of her time pouting and complaining, when she was able to get others to interact with her at all. These four learners were all fairly poor students. It is hard to say, however, whether their language learning problems stemmed from a general lack of talent for learning, or whether their academic problems were due to the same sorts of social difficulties that seem to get in the way of their language learning. At any rate, they were not especially engaged in what went on in the classroom, and unlike the shy but attentive children who could learn a lot of language simply by observing their teachers and classmates, these poor learners got little out of their classroom experience, either linguistically or academically.

There is one last type of poor learner, and this type is exemplified by one of the children who learned nothing during the first year, but went on to do better the second year. This child was unlike most of the other poor learners in that he was neither withdrawn nor was he unpleasant. He was, in fact, fairly popular with the other Spanish-speaking boys in his class and he spent much of the first year of school playing with them rather than attending to his school work. This child, and two others like him, exhibited something like a learning block with English. He seemed to turn off and tune out whenever anyone tried talking to him in English. The muscles around his mouth would tighten visibly, his eyes would become opaque, as if he was shutting the speaker out. He seemed unable to deal with the experience of being talked to in a language that he could not understand, and his response was to shut it out as completely as he could. He gave little indication during the first year of exposure to English that he could understand anything at all of the language. Unlike the children who were not speaking English, but were nevertheless attentive to it, and who seemed to be learning it through "osmosis", this child apparently neither heard nor learned it, in spite of his being surrounded by people who spoke the language. During the second year, this learner seemed to have overcome his difficulty, and he made fair progress, although he was by no means spectacular as a language learner.

I have tried to show in this brief discussion just how complex the relationship between learner characteristics and language learning is. These observations are preliminary ones, of course, but they are indicative of what we are finding in the full analyses of the data that we have collected.

The Influence of Context

Let us turn now to the second kind of observations to be discussed in this paper, those having to do with the interaction of situational characteristics with learner characteristics in shaping the language learning process. By the end of the first year of our study, it became evident that some of the children who, by virtue of their social and cognitive characteristics should have been performing as good language learners, were not living up to our expectations of them. Some of these children, in fact, were very much like the most successful learners in many respects, except that they were learning virtually nothing of the new language. Our observational data provided us with some clues as to what the problem might be. It seems that certain learner characteristics can either help or hinder language learning, depending on the situation in which the language is being learned. I will give two examples of this.

There seem to be striking differences among children according to whether they are inclined to orient their activities in the classroom toward adults or peers. On this matter, there appear to be fairly marked group differences as well: the Chinese children we observed tended generally to be more concerned with the expectations and opinions of the adults of their world than they were with those of their classmates. They appeared to look much more consistently to their teachers and to the other adults in the classroom (such as members of the resident research team) for guidance and support than they did to one another. By contrast, the Spanish-speaking children in our study appeared far more attuned to their peers than they were to adults. While they obviously liked being around their teachers, they seemed to turn more to peers for ideas and directions than they did to their teachers.

Those children of both ethnic groups who were peer-oriented tended to spend a lot more time talking to classmates than they did to adults, not surprising since there were more classmates nearby to interact with them than there were adults. They also tended to pay more attention to the speech of their peers, and to model their own speech to a greater extent after that of their peers, than on the speech of the adults in that same setting. Or so it seemed to us. How is this likely to affect language learning? Drastically, of course. If everyone in the peer group is a language learner, there is likely to be little incentive or opportunity to learn English, particularly for those who are peer-oriented rather than adult-oriented. Since they already speak a language that they can use with their classmates, there is no obvious need for them to learn a new one. And if they did choose to use the new language among themselves, the result would be that they would supply each other with an imperfect version of the language as input, resulting in the "junky data" phenomenon that Selinker, Swain and Dumas (1975) have found in their study of second language learners in immersion programs in Canada. And so, in a classroom with a high concentration of limited English speakers, the main reason for learning the new language is to please the adults in this setting. If the learners are adult-oriented, this works out fine, since they are looking to the adults for help and these adults happen to be the only people around who know the language well enough to provide such help, and so they generally get the help they need. If the learners happen not to be adult-oriented, chances are that they will make less use of adult language for language learning than they might, or could.

And this is just what we found in our classes. In the English immersion class, most of the children were Cantonese speakers, some were speakers of Vietnamese, four were bilingual English-speakers, and only one was a monolingual speaker of English. The first situational variable I will comment on, then, is this situation in which most of the children in the class do not know English, but do share a common first language. In such situations, most of the English input needed by the learners has to come from the teacher. Those children who were adult-oriented tended to learn quite a lot of English; they had the incentive to learn the language since the teacher spoke only English. If they wanted to interact with her in any real sense, they had to learn her language first.

Those students who were more peer-oriented tended to learn much less English in this situation, since they spent most of their time interacting with their non-English speaking classmates. In fact, several of the children that we predicted would be good language learners learned very little after a year in this class because of their peer-orientation. These were highly verbal, socially competent children, but they learned little English precisely because they spent more time in each other's company than in the company of their teachers.

This same classroom provides a second example of the ways in which situational variables can interact with learner variables to affect language learning. The class could be described as an "open" one structurally. That is, it was organized largely around individual learning activities rather than around teacher-directed group activities. In the open classroom, much of the interaction that takes place between teachers and students is carried out on a one-to-one basis. This is in contrast to teacher-structured classes where teachers are more likely to be talking to the entire class all at once, or to large groups of students. In that kind of arrangement, students have the target language spoken to them, whether they want it or not, and they themselves generally do not have an influence on how much exposure to the language they get. The language they hear, in a sense, is free input.

Differences in classroom organization can have a fairly substantial effect on language learning, since it affects the kind and amount of language input that is available to the learners. One-on-one interaction is ideal for language learning, of course. Where there are many English-speaking classmates in addition to the teachers to interact with on this basis, then the open classroom structure can probably facilitate language learning. But not for everyone, it appears. The language learner must, in such situations, play a rather active role in getting and maintaining the interaction needed to support learning. Teachers and classmates can be counted on generally to do some initiating of such contacts, but there is only so much of it that any individual can hope to get without making a personal effort. But this takes a desire on the part of the learner to have such contact, and a learner has to have the prerequisite social skills to be able to seek interaction with others, whether it is with teachers or with fellow classmates.

Thus, the amount of contact with the new language available to learners varies, depending on the individual's desire for, and ability to get the needed contact with speakers. Some learners will get a great deal of it, others will get little. It all depends on one's ability to handle the special relations that learners have to have with people who can help them learn the new language. Hence, in open classes, the individual variation in second language learning found among students seems to be greater than that found in classes that are more structured in format. In structured classes, everyone has some exposure to the target language, provided it is being used for instructional purposes during a part of the day. There is variation even then, since how well such input works for language learning depends on what each individual does with it. Those who are attentive to how the language is being used, and who are actively trying to make sense of it, will be able to learn quite a lot. Others who tend not to listen, or who are not good at relating language to experience, will not learn as much.

What is less likely to be a source of variation in teacher structured classes are those social style factors that affect the ability of learners to get access to input in situations such as those found in open classrooms, where learners must solicit and establish contact with speakers of the language before they are in a position to learn it. Those situations in which shy children did well at language learning were generally found in highly structured classrooms. These children would undoubtedly have had more difficulty learning the language had they been in a situation where they had to play a more active role in getting the input they needed.

Individual Variation

And now let us consider the final order of observations to be discussed here, that concerning the extent of the variation found among children in how much and how quickly they learn a second language.

The first point to be made is that at most , only 5 of the 18 "good language learners" could be described as quite proficient in English after two years. The others still had a long way to go before they could be said to be speakers of English. At the end of the second year, most of the remaining children in this group were able to make themselves understood in English, and they were more or less able to understand English when it was spoken to them, but in no way did they know it well enough to be able to handle its full use in the classroom, or in textbooks. And if these children who were considered relatively "good language learners" were not fully proficient after two years, then the children who were not as good were certainly even less proficient. That means that some 90% of the students whose language learning we studied had need of a lot more time and help for learning the language than they were able to get in two years of exposure to it in school. In this past year, I have become convinced that it may take most learners from four to six years to acquire a second language to a high enough level of proficiency to be able to deal with its use in the classroom.[4] For a few learners (for example, those we have described as "poor learners"), the time needed may be much longer than four to six years. Such children may need five to eight years to learn the language well enough to get by using it in school. At any rate, it takes students a lot longer than most of us thought to handle the enormously complex task of learning a new language.

Implications for Teachers

At the beginning of this paper, I commented that in the next few years, the TESOL profession will be facing a huge challenge as schools in this country turn to it for help in dealing with the special educational needs of limited-English-speaking students. In the paper, I have presented observations from the Berkeley Individual Differences Study that might reveal something of the true dimensions of that challenge. What implications do these observations have for the TESOL profession? How useful is it to know how much individual learners are likely to vary, or to know in what ways they differ in their approach to learning a new language? This kind of information is useful, *if* it gets used to improve learning for those students who might otherwise be at risk. My hope is that findings such as those discussed in this paper can lead to the creation of learning environments in classrooms that provide all students, both the talented and the not-so-talented learners, the kind of experiences and exposure to the language that is necessary to sustain and support language learning.

All learners must have exposure to the target language in use before they can learn it. The ideal conditions for learning are met when the environment provides each individual with ample opportunity to hear and to use the target language in meaningful and involving discourse with speakers of the language. In school, the ideal kind of situation is where there are as many native speakers of the language as there are learners, and classes are organized and planned in ways that provide numerous and varied activities that learners and speakers can engage in together. Such activities facilitate learning when they allow learners and speakers to participate in authentic conversations with one another in topics that are of mutual interest, conversations in which the emphasis is on communication rather than on correctness of form. However, the classroom situations students find themselves in are most often *not* ideal, and even if they were, we have seen how students vary in their ability to make use of opportunities to engage in the use of the language in ways that allow them to learn it.

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[4] Jim Cummins has been saying this for some time now (Cummins, 1981) but I needed to be convinced. The children in this study and another one I am engaged in involving a great many more learners ("The Learning English through Bilingual Instruction" Project [NIE-400-80-0030]) have provided me with ample evidence that it takes a lot longer to learn a language than I previously believed.

I have also tried to show in this paper that it is frequently the case that language learners find themselves in classrooms where there are few competent speakers of the target language other than teachers to interact with, and they must then base their learning exclusively on the language used by their teachers. Language learners who find themselves in such classrooms face a serious problem, a problem shared with learners who lack the social skills to interact with speakers of the new language in any situation: they will find it difficult to get adequate exposure to the new language, and enough practice speaking it so it can be learned.

In such situations, language instruction in the form of ESL constitutes an essential kind of help for learners. However, like everything else in this world, it is all too easy to do ESL instruction poorly. This is a certainty when the task of providing learners with opportunities to learn English is seen as a call for explicit instruction *on the language*, rather than instruction in which English is used *as a medium of communication*. Wherever it is felt that points of language need to be imparted for their own sake, teachers are likely to make use of drills and exercises where these linguistic points are emphasized and repeated. And when this happens, the language on which students have to base their learning of English is separated from its potential functions, namely those that allow language learners to make the appropriate connections between form and communicative functions. Without such connections, language is simply not learnable.

ESL is done well when it takes the form of lessons in which the language is both an object of instruction and a medium of communication. In so doing, teachers move away from "teaching" the language toward "presenting" it in ways that the students will find most useful for their own language learning efforts. For this to work, the language used in instruction has to be shaped and selected with the learners' abilities in mind, and it must be embedded in a context of gestures, demonstrations and activities that lead and support the learners' guesses about what is going on. Such adjustments of staging and delivery are crucial in making instructional language work as linguistic input for learners. But they represent only some of the modifications that must be made.

Important adjustments also have to be made in instructional content when the language spoken by teachers serves both as linguistic input for learners and as the means of conveying academic subject matter to them. The learners' linguistic needs will necessarily limit what can be discussed and hence how much of the curriculum can be covered.

The aim then, is to create situations in classrooms in which most learners will find opportunities to learn the new language. That involves creating situations in which the target language is being used for communicative purposes in the course of activities that require the active participation of the learners. Such practice would reduce somewhat the amount of variation found among learners as to how quickly they pick up the language. They can not eliminate the variability altogether. There will always be some students who are slow at learning the language, and who need a lot more time and help than others to learn it. These children will have difficulty in school until they learn enough English to get by, especially if they are instructed *only* in English as many educators and educational policy-makers are currently advocating. Because of the trade-offs that have to be made between language level and instructional content when the language used by teachers has to serve the double function of conveying subject matter and of serving as input for language learning purposes, these students will get little out of the subject matter they are receiving in school while they are in the process of learning the new language. The learners who are in the greatest jeopardy are the ones that are the slowest at learning the new language, of course. From what we have learned in the Individual Differences Project, these slowest learners represent about 20 to 25 percent of our subjects. But as I have tried to show in this paper, a sizeable proportion of the children in our study who were not especially slow as language learners were by no means ready to handle the full and unlimited use of English in school, neither at the end of two years of language learning, nor at the end of three, as we eventually discovered. Most of these children can more-or-less handle the use of English in school now. But until they reach the level of proficiency in English that is necessary for a full comprehension of the language used by teachers and in textbooks, there is much that they are likely to miss, particularly where English is the sole medium of instruction. And so we are back to where we started. Some form of instructional support in the native language is needed by these students in order to avoid falling behind in school while they are learning English. ESL instruction (of the kind recommended in this paper) will help them learn English, but it can provide only half of the help needed by these students. Ultimately, educators will have to realize that what is needed to meet the special challenge of educating limited-English-speakers in our schools is a combination of bilingual instruction and ESL.

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Nutritional Needs of Language Learners*

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Introduction

Conferences are structured in such a way that we have a tendency to lose sight of our fundamental reasons for gathering. They are set up so that we can offer and be offered things that will fit our needs as teachers: we know we need a textbook for a reading course—and there are hundreds available here to compare; or we know a particular conversation course is not going well and we want some ideas on what to do differently; maybe we need to set up an ESP course and want some advice on how to do it; or, most practically, we need a new teacher and we want to interview candidates. Conferences will fulfill these kinds of needs. But there is another reason why we gather at conferences such as these, an underlying reason, and that is because we are all associated with the English language teaching profession. We are interested, ultimately, in fulfilling the language learning needs of our students. We want to be able to provide them with the essential ingredients—the ingredients *they* need in order to be able to learn English as a second language. We know that language learning can not take place in a vacuum. A learner needs input. And thus, we can ask ourselves, given learner motivation and capability, what are the components of input which, combined, promote second language learning?

You can see, now, why I entitled my talk "The Nutritional Needs of Language Learners." I want to present an analogy between the input requirements of the human body, and the input requirements of the human second language learning mechanism. Just as we can ask what kinds of fuel the human body needs to keep it going, so also we can ask what kinds of fuel the human language learning mechanism needs.

There is a level at which one can answer that question, for the body's fuel requirements, by saying, for example, "Well, you need some grains, some fruits and vegetables, some meat, etc." Comparably, for language learning one might say, "Well, you need both communicative and structural exercises, graded vocabulary, both intensive and extensive reading opportunities." But this is not the level I want to deal with today, because this is the level at which the conference itself is most useful. Instead of focusing on whether to offer the learner a mango or a papaya, I want to ask—Why give either? What is it that the learner needs that we can provide? For human bodies, we have quite precise knowledge, for the most part, of what they need: they need carbohydrates, fats, proteins, and certain vitamins and minerals. We offer our bodies fruits because we like them, of course, but also because they make available to us various combinations of carbohydrates and vitamins, for example, that our bodies need in order to continue functioning.

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For human language learning mechanisms, however, we are not in so fortunate a position. Given a list of proposed needs, we would no doubt find that we were in general agreement on certain of them, but by no means all. About certain other proposals we would still have a great deal of disagreement. I would like to offer my perspective on a set of proposed needs today, in the hope that it may serve to establish, or strengthen, or maybe even upset the fundamental basis that *you* use for decision-making at the mangos and papayas level—the basis which guides your decisions about which of the many attractive choices you may have been offered, here at this conference, will be the most effective for your learners.

What, then, are the proposed language learning input requirements? And for each proposal, we should ask—Is this a true requirement or only an ingredient that learners could do without? The four major candidates to be evaluated are: *simplified input*, *comprehensible input*, *negative input*, and *sufficient input* (all of these to be provided, I hasten to add, in the target language, not the native language).

Simplified Input: This involves presenting to the learner as input utterances, the structure, or vocabulary, or length of which have been stripped down in some way, or simplified, to accommodate the learner's insufficient knowledge of the target language.

Comprehensible Input: This involves presenting to the learner utterances which are embedded in enough context so that he or she can figure out their meaning.

Negative Input: This is information provided to the learner if his or her attempt at communication has not been totally successful, i.e., that it wasn't understandable, it wasn't grammatically correct, it wasn't situationally appropriate, etc.

Sufficient Input—(which is really a quantitative issue, not a qualitative issue as are the three other input types): By this I mean that there may be a critical minimum amount of input needed during a specified time period such that if the learner receives that amount or more, language learning will take place, but that if the learner receives less during that time, language learning will not take place.

Let me point out here that what I am not going to focus on at all is the contribution the learner has to make during the language learning process, nor am I going to concern myself with the problem of how to motivate the learner to take advantage of the input offered. What I shall focus on, rather, are the following questions: What constitutes valuable input to the learner and why should that be the case?

Simplified Input

Simplified input is currently viewed by several researchers (cf., Hatch 1978, Krashen 1981) as a set of devices used by adult native speakers when talking to language learners which facilitate learning for them, the idea behind this being that the reduction of the normal complexity of the language will aid comprehension, which in turn will promote learning. I would like to claim that simplified input is not a requirement for language learning. But before I present my arguments, let us try to pin down this notion of simplified input and then look at the arguments that have been developed in favor of the claim that it promotes learning.

Our current knowledge of simplified speech has come about as a result of recent studies of the speech of mature native speakers of English as they attempt to communicate with people who are not yet proficient in the language. This has involved studying parents as they talk to their small children, i.e., caretaker speech (cf. Snow and Ferguson 1977), teachers as they talk in their ESL classes, i.e., teacher talk (Cf., Gaies 1977), and native-speaking adults as they talk to non-native learners, i.e., foreigner talk (cf., Freed 1978). These studies have indicated that in our attempts to communicate with nonproficient speakers we alter our language in certain ways. As Hatch (1978) points out, these alterations vary considerably from one setting to another and from one time to another, but certain phenomena have been picked out as being characteristic of most of them:

(1) rate of speech: slower and more distinct.
(2) vocabulary use: fewer slang words and idioms and fewer pronouns.
(3) syntactic structure: less complex structures, including shorter and less propositionally complex sentences.
(4) morphology: morphological stripping, i.e., the elimination of those morphological elements, such as tense and aspect forms, plurals and articles in English, which do not carry much semantic weight. This, of course, often results in sentences which are ungrammatical from the point of view of the adult native speaker grammar.[1]

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[1] I should point out that not all researchers agree that the morphological stripping is characteristic of these simplified codes. Krashen (1981), for example, claims that simplified codes are typically more well formed than speech between native speaker adults, not less.

These, then, are phenomena that have been observed: slower rate of speech, easier vocabulary, less complex structures, and possibly, morphologically stripped utterances. It is a big jump, though, from observing these phenomena in the behavior of adult native speakers as they interact with learners to claiming that they are necessary or even valuable for language learning. Yet a number of researchers come fairly close to this claim, and it behooves us to look carefully at their arguments.

Krashen provides the most clearly articulated discussion of this issue (1981:Chap. 9). He formulates two major questions to be dealt with:

(1) Does access to such codes facilitate language learning? And, correspondingly, does lack of access impede it?
(2) Are the simple codes themselves linguistically appropriate for language learning?

As Krashen points out, there is little evidence available to help us decide the first question. Certain researchers have suggested this may be so, (cf., Wagner-Gough and Hatch 1975); Krashen offers his own language learning experience in support of their claim. But there is simply no hard evidence.

On the second question, that of the linguistic appropriateness of the codes themselves, Krashen suggests that simplified codes provide language forms that are, roughly speaking, not far above the linguistic capability of the learner to incorporate into his or her emerging language—a little bit above reach, so to speak, and mixed in with further samples of the language the learner has already grasped. His conclusion is as follows: "if caretaker speech (the simplified speech of parents to their children) is helpful for first language acquisition it may be the case that simple codes (i.e., teacher talk and foreigner talk) are useful in much the same way. The teacher, the more advanced second language performer, and the native speaker in casual conversation, in attempting to communicate with the second language acquirer, may unconsciously make the '100 or 1000 alterations' in speech that provide the acquirer with optimal input for language acquisition" (p. 132).

This current hypothesizing about the possible beneficial effects of simplified language fits, rather surprisingly I would think, with the views that have been held by proponents of the audio-lingual approach to language teaching. In the 1940's, Charles Fries maintained that the structures and vocabulary to be presented to the learner needed to be carefully sequenced and presented in the "correct" order, from easiest to hardest, based on the total system of language. And even before Fries, Harold Palmer (1964) argued that the order of presentation of sentences must be from simple to complex, frequent to rare, etc. The differences seem to be that Krashen, Hatch and others claim that we as native speakers do this unconsciously in our attempts to communicate with learners, we don't have to plan it, so to speak, and Krashen's further claim that fine tuning (i.e., careful grading) such as that advocated by Fries is not only unnecessary but undesirable. Rough tuning will do.

Here we have researchers and methodologists converging to a considerable extent—an unusual and serendipitous happening. Yet one must ask—Are they on firm ground? Can we safely assume simplified or partially simplified language is a requirement for language learning? Can we now go on to translate this into teaching materials and techniques? I think not.

The problem is that among researchers in first language acquisition certain new facts have arisen which must have considerable impact on how we view the question of simplification. These new facts come from linguists and anthropologists studying how first language learning occurs in social groups other than in white, middle class America.

Elinor Ochs (1982) studied the language learning of the children of Western Samoa; Bambi Schieffelin (1979), that of the Kaluli children in New Guinea; Shirley Brice-Heath (1982), that of Black children in a small southeastern American community she calls Trackton. What they found was startling, and radically different from what we have come to expect. The language of the caretakers in these communities was much different than is the language of white middle class American caretakers, the main difference being that it is *not simplified*. Ochs observes that Samoan adults do not consider young children capable of communicating intentionally, nor do they consider it appropriate to try to accommodate to a child's perspective. Schieffelin characterizes Kaluli speech to children as normal adult speech. In fact, she claims, the Kaluli find the idea of "baby talk" dismaying. Brice-Heath says Trackton mothers do not think of their children as conversational partners until they are skilled enough to be seen as realistic sources of information and competent partners in talk. They talk when the children are around, and about them in their presence, but rarely to them. In these three communities, then, there is no simplified language especially for the children. And yet the children in these communities learn the appropriate languages in the same amount of time it takes white middle class American children. And they begin talking at the same age.

What does all of this mean? It means that children do not need simplified input to learn a language. They do just fine without it. From all appearances, children who do not receive simplified input learn as quickly and as well as children who do. What we have here, then, is a case of the researchers' drawing premature conclusions based on an insufficient data base.

If children do not need or benefit from simplified language in first language learning, is it possible for us to maintain that adults need simplified language in second language learning? I doubt it. It has always been difficult to generalize from what children do to what adults do because of the great differences in cognitive capacities between them. But in recent years it has been both possible and popular to argue that with regard to language learning, adults operated for the most part like children (cf., Dulay and Burt

1974, and Corder 1974). But if we find out as we now have that *children do not* require simplified language it is going to be very hard to justify the claim that *adults do*. And, from my point of view, not worth it.

So at this point I think our safest claim is that adults do *not* need simplified language for language learning. Let me add here that this claim seems to fit in nicely with some assumptions underlying another approach to language teaching—the notional functional approach developed by Wilkins (1976). In this approach the syllabus is organized around the function or meaning rather than the form, according to the learner's communicative needs. Since there is no one-to-one correspondence between function and form, for any particular function or notion chosen there will be many forms that could be used to express it. The choice of forms is presumably based on their usefulness to the learner rather than on their linguistic complexity (cf., Wilkins 1976:59-62).

Comprehensible Input

Several of the researchers studying the simplified codes or registers just described have pointed out that the purpose of these modifications in caretaker, teacher and foreigner talk is not to teach language but to communicate through language (cf., Newport et al. 1977, Krashenn 1981, etc.). If the learner doesn't understand your question, you ask it in a different way, although not necessarily a simpler way. If the learner doesn't catch the meaning of a lexical item, you paraphrase it, perhaps using a syntactic structure that is more complex than the original. If the learner looks puzzled or distressed, you talk slower.

These modifications, which may or may not be simpler than the utterances they replace *are* aimed at facilitating *comprehension*. It would appear that comprehensible input, not simplified input, is the true nutritional requirement. Simplified input may at times foster comprehension, but it is probably not a necessity. From my perspective, simplified input appears to be only one of several devices which can accomplish the same thing—the facilitation of comprehension.

I think that what we have had here is a failure to distinguish between the input requirement itself and one of its possible sources. Let us call the comprehensible input requirement the language learning equivalent of the body's protein requirement, and the proposed simplified input requirement the language learning equivalent of the body's milk requirement. We know that every body does *not* need milk. Many bodies do perfectly well without it. What all bodies do need, however, is protein, and milk is one of the many sources of protein. Similarly, what language learners truly need is comprehensible input, and simplified input is but one of its many sources.

Comprehensible input is one of the four proposed requirements about which there is no disagreement in the literature. If the learner does not receive comprehensible input, language learning simply will not take place, which may even serve to obscure the fact that language learning is *not* taking place. Given that comprehensible input is so widely accepted as a requirement, and seems so logical a requirement, it might seem appropriate for me to go on and to focus on the more controversial proposals. However, before going on, I would like to add some comments on the kinds of things comprehensible input encompasses and then some devices that are used naturally, and can be used deliberately, to facilitate it.

What does comprehensible input encompass? I do not want to be understood to be claiming that in order for people to learn a language they must understand each and every word in each and every utterance they hear. If this were the criterion, no one would learn. What I do mean is that in order for learners to incorporate a structure or lexical item into their productive capacity they must have understood it as meaningful in some way. But the understanding (or comprehension) can occur at different levels. A person may have learned a useful chunk of language, for example, and not be able to analyze its internal structure. This is common phenomenon among second language learners learning outside the classroom. A phrase such as 'damn it all to hell' might be produced by a learner on appropriate occasions without the learner's being aware of its individual parts. We get glimpses of this when learners occasionally misuse a phrase they have learned but not analyzed. A nice example that comes to mind is Lily Wong-Fillmore's account of having learned the phrase *thanks anyway* as a chunk and, then thinking that it was a nice way to express her gratitude, producing that phrase when someone gave her her first ever birthday present—"*thanks anyway*," she responded. We also get glimpses when we observe learners mis-analyzing certain phrases, such as the daughter of a friend who went to see the play *Don Quixote*, which in American English is often pronounced [don kižót]. This learner talked to her friends about having seen *donkey goat*.

In both cases the learner had comprehended some but not all of the phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic information necessary to use the phrase in question. Wong-Fillmore understood that the phrase *thanks anyway* was to be used in the context of offers. My friend's daughter knew that the phrase *donkey goat* referred to the play she had seen. These are cases, then, of partial comprehension, but comprehension, nevertheless.

I have claimed that simplified input is but one of several phenomena which serve to facilitate comprehension. Let me just point out some other phenomena which will have the same effect.

Pauses between utterances by a native speaker can and do have the effect of facilitating comprehension in that they provide the learner longer computing time for each utterance. Probably all of us have had the frustrating experience of asking a question in a second language and then being miserable as the native speaker rattled on in reply, producing 3-4 sentences before we had finished processing the first. Pauses help enormously.

Repetitions also facilitate comprehension in that they provide the learner with more than one opportunity to process the same thing. What both of these phenomena show is that the learner needs a good deal of extra processing time in a language that is not a totally familiar one. This brings to mind a related claim put forth at this conference by Diane Larsen-Freemen—that, in the classroom, knowing that she did not have to formulate responses to her professor facilitated comprehension for her in that it allowed her more processing time.

Included as part of simplified codes was a phenomenon that was not an instance of simplification at all, but may, in fact, be a facilitator of comprehension, and that is rate of speech. It seems reasonable to think that slower speech would help the learner for exactly the same reasons as the others, that processing time is therefore extended. Slower production must always be balanced by the possibility of phonological distortion though, as I have found in my attempts to understand the French of a native speaker who was trying to enunciate clearly and slowly.

Yet another facilitator of comprehension is an enriched context, one which makes a substantial contribution to the meaning of an utterance. In certain contexts the meaning of a sentence is clear. Other contexts contribute little or nothing to the comprehension of that same sentence. The utterance, "Give me the one with the white stuff on top," may be crystal clear in a restaurant when requesting a particular piece of French pastry on the tray in front of you, but totally obscure when ordering the entree from a written menu.

Another point to keep in mind is that what is a rich context to one learner might be a poor one to another because of their differences in knowledge of the world. The extent to which the context relates to the learner's world-knowledge has an effect on comprehensibility too.

Although all these phenomena occur naturally, the pauses, the repetitions, the slower speech, the enriched contexts, I think it is clear that they could be consciously manipulated in the classroom by the teacher concerned with providing comprehensible input.

Negative Input

I have defined negative input as information provided to the learner that his or her attempt at communication has not been totally successful. Negative input is a kind of feedback. and one might ask why I have not included positive input as well as negative. Vigil and Oller (1976) make a distinction that I find quite useful in this regard, between feedback in the affective domain and feedback in the cognitive domain.

Feedback in the affective domain, which is generally nonverbal, indicates that the listener likes the speaker or doesn't, agrees with or approves of what the speaker is saying or doesn't, encourages the speaker to continue or not, etc., whereas feedback in the cognitive domain, which is generally verbal, indicates that the listener understood what the speaker was attempting to communicate or didn't, that it made sense or didn't. Thus both affective and cognitive feedback can be either positive or negative. Although it is normally the case that we as teachers want to provide positive affective feedback in the classroom (in order to influence learner motivation), I am sure that it is not a necessary element of input to the language learner. People learn languages for many reasons, and a highly motivated language learner will learn a language quite independent of the teacher's caring attitude in the classroom. Affective feedback is pleasant, but it is not a language requirement. The real question has to do with positive or negative cognitive feedback. Negative cognitive feedback is what, in this paper, I have labeled negative input.

There are arguments both for and against the use of negative input. Vigil and Oller (1974) claim, and I agree, that unless learners receive appropriate negative input fossilization will occur. They argue that negative input is what produces the instability in the language learning mechanism that prods learners to modify their production. But there are many who would argue against negative input generally on the basis of its having been proven to be ineffective in changing behavior. There are two major argurments against negative input to be considered:

(1) that negative input gets provided rarely to language learners in nonclassroom settings, that is, you just don't find enough of it around to be of use to a language learner, and yet language learning takes place (Brown and Hanlon 1970),

(2) that learners do not take advantage of it anyway; essentially this comes down to the claim that people learn by observation but not by correction (cf., McNeill 1966).

The major weakness in both of these arguments, however, is that negative input is viewed from a particularly narrow perspective. Of all the possible sources of negative input, only one has been seriously considered—explicit correction of error (cf. Braine 1971, Brown and Hanlon 1970). What I view as equally important as sources of negative input is a whole set of response types, ranging from explicit corrections at one end of a continuum to confirmations, to clarifications, to at least two kinds of failures to understand. Each of these response types has as its underlying motive the intelligibility factor, which is what provides the continuum along which these responses range. All of these, I argue, are indications to the learner that something has gone wrong in the transmission of a message. All of them identify the learner's utterance as unsuccessful in some way, and thus qualify as negative input. Let us consider each response type in turn, beginning with the least serious in terms of intelligibility failure, and progressing to the most serious.

The most obvious source of negative input, explicit correction, is also the least serious in terms of the intelligibility factor. The explicit correction is, according to Bolinger (1953), "the border beyond which we say 'no' to an expression." In the ESL setting it is meant to convey the message that the native speaker knows exactly what message was transmitted by the learner, but is unwilling to accept it in the form in which it was transmitted. Here is an example from the Day et al. (1971) transcripts:

NNS: Last year was monkey's year.
NS: Year of the monkey. Yeah.

Confirmation checks, according to Long (1981), are expressions by the native speaker which are designed to elicit confirmation that the utterance has been correctly understood or correctly heard. They are answerable by a simple confirmation if the native speaker has in fact understood the learner's utterance, and require no new information from the learner. But as Chenoweth (1981) points out, confirmation checks may carry a double function—either to confirm understanding of the learner or to provide a correction in a nonthreatening manner, or both. Note that in the example below the confirmation check is not an exact repetition by any means. In fact, confirmation checks typically provide correct grammatical structures in contrast to the learner's incorrect form:

NNS: All the people think the Buddha is the people same
NS: Same as the people?
NNs: Yeah

Day et al. (1981)

Clarification requests, unlike confirmation checks, request that the learner either furnish new information or recode information previously given (cf., Long 1981):

NNS: Ernest Hemingway doesn't believe in God
NS: Isn't he dead? He must know by now.

Day et al. (1981)

The last two response types can be labeled failures to understand. It is not clear to me which of the two is more serious in terms of the intelligibility factor, since both provide immediate evidence to the learner that message transmission failure has occurred. It is clear, however, that each qualifies as negative input. In the one case, the conversational partner fails to understand and does *not* realize it, responding instead to what he or she perceives the message to be, what may be called *unrecognized failure to understand* (or misunderstanding):

NS: What's the movie tonight?
NNS: Em, ah, no, me no, no looked, no?
NNS: I look play
NS: You play?
NNS: No, I look play hockey. The game.
NS: You play hockey? You play the game?

Schumann (1975) transcripts

In this case, the learner was attempting to transmit the idea that he had watched hockey on T.V., not the movie. The NS understood him to say he had played hockey. In the other case the conversational partner fails to understand and realizes it, often producing a "What?" or "Huh?" in response. This may be called the *recognized failure to understand* and can be viewed as the opposite side of the coin from the explicit correction.

NNS: Um in Harvard, what you study?
NS: What?
NNS: What you es study?

Schumann (1975) transcripts

I do not want to be understood as claiming that confirmation checks, clarification requests and failures to understand function solely as negative input sources. They can and do serve as requests to speak louder, to reaffirm one's facts, etc. Nevertheless, what these examples clearly show is that they are available to learners as a source of negative input and, in communicative situations, rather widely available. With this conception of negative input, the claim about the lack of availability of negative input is severely weakened, and, in my eyes, untenable.

The second argument against the notion that negative input is necessary for learning, remember, is that learners don't take advantage of it anyway, that when they are interacting they are focussing on communication, not form. This question is a difficult one to deal with, since it is not possible to enter into the learner's head and find out. But there are observable phenomena which lead me to believe that learners do take advantage of negative input, that in fact they need it.

What are these phenomena? First, if one observes carefully the interaction between a learner and a native speaker in a communicative situation, one notices occasional spontaneous imitations by the learner of the correct forms produced by the native speaker. Such spontaneous imitations of form indicate to me that the learner recognizes the value of negative input and is sometimes willing to put message conveyance temporarily aside.

Careful observation also shows that in situations in which the conversational partner (the native speaker) indicates a failure to understand, learners will often spontaneously switch to alternate forms in their attempts to convey the original message. This too can be an indication that the learner perceives that the original form was inappropriate for the conveyance of a particular message.

The two phenomena I have just pointed out, learner imitation of correct structures and learner switches to alternate forms, suggestive though they may be, do not, however, provide conclusive evidence that learners take advantage of negative data. Such evidence is not possible with the kinds of information on language learning presently available. Nevertheless, there is, in addition, a phenomena first identified in the psychological literature on learning that adds further weight to the claim that learners do in fact take advantage of negative input.

This phenomenon, first pointed out by Wason and Johnson-Laird (1972), emerged in certain rather difficult learning experiments. What happened was that it took time for the learners to indicate that they had made use of the negative feedback they had received because it took time to figure out a new hypothesis about what was correct. So, too, in language learning, it may be that a learner may have taken in a certain bit of negative input but have not yet figured out what the correct form should be. Processing time is needed before the learner can come up with a different hypothesis about what is required. If this is true for language learning, and I think it very likely, it would also partially account for the apparent failures by learners to respond immediately to negative input.

In sum, closer inspection of the negative input question has shown that it encompasses much more than we have looked at so far, since such phenomena as confirmation checks, clarification requests and failures to understand qualify as negative input. Furthermore, certain phenomena such as learner limitations, and learner processing time indicate that the learner may be operating under constraints we have yet to take into account when considering the question of negative input. All of this indicates that the issue of negative input is not yet settled, and therefore that it is premature to assume that language learning can take place without it.

Sufficient Input

The last proposed input requirement is that of sufficient input—the quantitative question. How much target language input is sufficient for the language learning mechanism to "kick on" and then how much is sufficient for it to keep operating? Is there a critical mass, so to speak, below which target language learning will not take place, and above which it will? What about a school system in which the learner is exposed to the target language three hours a week, 30 weeks a year, for six years, for a total of 540 hours. Is this sufficient for language learning to take place? What about the Silent Way, in which the teacher speaks very little? And if Silent Way works in an ESL situation, where there is much input available outside the class, does it also work in an EFL situation, where the classroom is the only source of input?

Unfortunately, although the issue of sufficient input would seem to be a critical one for language teaching practitioners, both our research literature and our methodological literature are distressingly silent in this area.

There are a very few individuals discussed in the first language literature who have failed to learn a first language because of insufficient input (e.g., the Truffaux movie on the boy of Avredon, and the case of Genie in Los Angeles) but there are many many individuals who have failed to learn a second language, and it is often said of them too, that they received insufficient input. In truth, it seems like an article of faith—if one is successful at learning a second language, it is partly because one has had sufficient exposure to it. But what is sufficient? We truly do not know. There are, however, interesting new proposals in this area which, if carried out, might give us—some time later—a substantial knowledge base from which to make judgments about sufficiency.

We can think of two language programs which are alike in terms of the total number of hours of instruction offered and type of instruction offered, which may differ only in terms of the length of time it takes to complete each one. Perhaps one program offers 100 hours a year for three years, a total of 300 hours. This could be called an *extensive* program. The other also offers a total of 300 hours, but all of it in a six month period. We could call it a *compact* program. Would there be differences in the proficiency of the graduates of these two programs? And would the differences continue over time? One suspects there would be differences, and one would like to know for sure. The use of compact foreign language courses is now being advocated for the secondary level in Europe (cf. Alsed 1982). We must watch these developments closely.

For the moment, however, we must just assume there is a sufficient input requirement, hoping that the programs we teach in are offering the minimum requirements and, to the extent that we are able, advocate and participate in such compact programs in our own settings. The best we can say at this point is that minimum daily requirement have not yet been established for human language learning but that they should be, and that comparisons of the results of compact and extensive courses would give us the basis for the establishment of such requirements.

Summary

It looks as if what we are left with, from our original list of four proposed candidates, are two qualitative requirements, comprehensible input and negative input, and one quantitative requirement, sufficient input, even though we admit we're not sure how much is enough.

Three requirements is not a large number. There may, of course, be other requirements we do not yet recognize. Think of the string of vitamins and minerals that scientists are still finding, one by one, that our bodies need minute amounts of. So it may be for language learning. And we must keep our eyes open for just that possibility. But at least, for the present, we can focus on making sure that we are presenting to the language learner those components we *know* they need, and we can make an effort to provide them in large quantities.

There is one final point I would like to make about the language learning needs that we have isolated here, and important point to keep in mind as we go about the task of choosing from among the rich array of treats made available to us at this conference. As I thought about what was and what was not an essential requirement for language learning, I was struck time and again at how much *variety* we have available to us in our search for ways to fulfill those needs. What I have discovered is that just as there are a variety of ways to fulfill the body's nutritional requirements, so, too, are there a number of ways to fulfill the language learner's nutritional requirements.

Does the body need protein? Clearly we can offer meat and milk. But we can also offer tofu or yoghurt. And furthermore, we can, if we know what we are doing, provide equally effective but not so obvious combinations of ingredients each of which, alone, would not meet the protein need. We can provide tortillas and beans, for instance, or oatmeal soup.

Does the language learner need comprehensible input? Clearly we can provide simplified input. But also we can offer repetitions and enriched contexts. And surely there must be combinations of other elements which would, together but not alone, prove just as effective as tortillas and beans.

Does the language learner need negative input? Obviously we can provide corrections. But we can also offer clarification requests and confirmation checks and deliberate failures to understand. And what combinations of elements are possible here? The question deserves an answer.

As long as we keep our learners' needs in mind we can and should put our ingenuity to work to look for a variety of ways to fill those needs. No one likes the same old dishes every day. And furthermore, no one menu will work in every culture, for every classroom, with every learner. Within an adequate nutritional framework, variety makes eating pleasant as well as beneficial. Let us aim for the same nutritional effects in language learning too.

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A Question of Universality:
Conversational Principles and Implication

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Recently linguists have begun to recognize that the task of learning a second language might extend beyond the acquisition of the forms of the language to include as well the learning of the rules governing discourse. As Larsen-Freeman (1980) points out, in addition to the rules of form, successful language learners must acquire at least three types of rules which govern the use of the grammatical structures of L2—rules which can be said to comprise communicative competence. First, language learners must come to know the structure of discourse units such as greetings and conversational openings; second, they must learn the communicative function of these discourse units. Finally, second language learners should acquire pragmatic competence—that ability to produce discourse forms appropriate to the situation. As Richards notes, "While the learner has intuitively acquired the principles of conversational competence in his or her own language, conversational competence is just as important a dimension of second language learning as the grammatical competence which is the focus of much formal language teaching" (1980:430).

If learning a second language involves acquisition of discourse structure and communicative competence as well as grammatical forms, then the complexity of the learners' task depends in part on the extent to which rules broadly governing conversation vary from language to language. Research such as Wolfson (1981) suggests that the rules for some discourse units, or speech acts, for example complementing, may differ significantly between languages and cultures. Might it be the case, though, that there are some rules of conversation which underlie all conversational interaction, despite the possibility for wide variation in particular discourse unity? The concept of universal conversational rules was set forth by Grice (1967 and 1975) in a discussion of conversational implicature (or implication). Basically here is his argument: The ability to produce and understand implications—those instances wherein speech means something other than what is literally said—is tied to general features of discourse. These features are based on the need to cooperate in speech interaction lest the conversation degenerate into random, unconnected remarks. By agreeing to cooperate, participants specifically consent to recognize the common purpose or at least the general direction of a conversation. The more casual the conversation, the more latitude the speakers are allowed.

This general principle of discourse is the Cooperative Principle. Grice characterizes this rule as follows: ". . . make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (1975:45). Related to this general principle are a series of maxims which direct the particulars of discourse. They are rules which specify what should and should not be included in conversation. These maxims fit into four general types: rules of Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner.

Under the category of Quantity, there are two maxims: 1. give as much information as is called for, and 2. don't give more information than is called for. Rules of Quality fit under the supermaxim "tell the truth" and can be further divided into two specific directives: 1. don't say what you know is false, and 2. don't say what you lack evidence for. The only maxim under the category of Relation is "be relevant" but, as Grice admits, this apparently simple rule is particularly troublesome owing to the difficulty of arriving at a suitable definition of relevance. Finally, included in the category of Manner are four maxims which relate to the super maxim "be perspicuous": 1. avoid obscurity, 2. avoid ambiguity, 3. be brief, and 4. be orderly.

Grice maintains that in order to talk of implication at all, we must assume that interlocutors in general proceed in a manner prescribed by the Cooperative Principle and the maxims. Both the speaker and the hearer must be tacitly aware of these principles if the possibility of implicature is to be allowed. Grice contends that it is ". . . a well-recognized empirical fact that people DO behave in these ways; they have learned to do so in childhood and not lost the habit of doing so; and indeed, it would involve a good deal of effort to make a radical departure from the habit" (1975:48). He concluded that the practice of observing the Cooperative Principle and maxims is reasonable because anyone who cares about the goals of conversation/communication (that is, giving and receiving information; influencing and being influenced by others) must

> be expected to have an interest, given suitable circumstances, in participation in talk exchanges that will be profitable only on the assumption that they are conducted in general accordance with the Cooperative Principles and maxims (1975:49).

Since it is reasonable to follow these rules, the failure to do so must seem as purposeful behavior and, according to Grice, must of itself convey some type of meaning. The failure to fulfill the maxims can take a variety of forms:

1. a speaker may quietly and unostentatiously violate a maxim; this situation usually results in a misunderstanding.

2. a speaker may opt out from the operation of a maxim or the Cooperative principle by indicating an unwillingness to cooperate as in Grice's example of a speaker saying, "My lips are sealed."

3. a speaker may find that two maxims clash and that it is necessary to choose one over the other.

4. a speaker may choose to flout a maxim by obviously failing to fulfill the demands of the rule and not attempting to hide this from the listener.

Failing to fulfill a maximum in any of these ways may involve conversational implicature; for example, when a speaker answers the question, "When is Mary returning?" with "Either Tuesday or Wednesday," the speaker recognizes that the answer is less informative than it might be (an infringement on the maxim of Quantity), but also understands that a more specific answer might transgress the maxim of Quality, "don't say what you lack evidence for." The response, which represents a clash between the two maxims, contains the implicature that the speaker does not know exactly when Mary will return. There are abundant examples of this type to be found in conversation. The most frequent instances of conversational implicature, however, result when speakers blatantly ignore or flout one of the maxims. In these cases, a speaker deliberately exploits a rule with full recognition that it is, in Grice's term, "reasonable" to follow the maxim. Since this action must be viewed as purposeful behavior (which supposes that the speaker is aware of the rules and the logic of following the rules), the hearer must then ask why the speaker is obviously ignoring that maxim. Typically this is the sort of situation which involves conversational implicature.

An example of how the rules of conversation underlie the ability to form implications might be useful at this point. In the following interchange:

A: John failed his math test.

B: Being on the track team demands a lot of time.

Speaker A can assume that speaker B is following the maxims and the Cooperative Principle, most importantly in this case the maxim "be relevant"; B must then be making a connection between John's math performance and running track. Speaker A may reasonably interpret B's remark to mean that running has interfered with John's studying since B has said nothing to stop A from making this connection. In other words, in responding with "Being on the track team demands a lot of time," speaker B has implied that there is a relationship between the remarks, that is, that John's failing is a result of his running track.

Although Grice's interest is, admittedly, in explaining the workings of implicature in language, his formulations nonetheless represent a very strong assertion about the structure of conversation, a structure which he claims, at least indirectly, is universal. The principles and maxims he describes are to be understood as part of the structure of all languages. It follows then, that in all languages, conversations will be based on the Cooperative Principle and the maxims. In Gricean logic, speakers of any language will be able to create, and hearers to understand, implicature because of their understanding of the use or failure to use these rules of discourse. As Keenan (1976) points out, Gricean rules are not presented as a working hypothesis or a framework in which differences from culture to culture (or within cultures depending on the situation) can be studied. Instead these rules are presented by Grice as social facts: "people DO behave in these ways" (1975:48).

But are these maxims universal? Do people, in fact, behave in conversation in the ways that Gricean principles predict? Specifically, do speakers of all languages follow these rules of discourse and consequently, does implicature result when a speaker fails to fulfill the conversational requirements dictated by the rules? Are there any situational or cultural constraints that might interfere with Grice's theory of Cooperative Principle, maxims and implicature? These are among the questions of interest to researchers in second language acquisition. As Richards concludes in his consideration of Grice's rules: "The relevance of Grice's maxims to conversation in a second language is dependent on the degree to which such maxims are universal or language specific" (1980:47).

There is some evidence to suggest that Grice might be overstating the universality of conversational maxims. In her article "The Universality of Conversational Postulates," (1976) Keenan argues that conversational implicature, unlike logical implicature, may vary situationally and cross-culturally. Conversational implicature may vary from culture to culture and from situation to situation depending on how, in each particular case, speakers and hearers are expected to behave with respect to the Cooperative Principle and the maxims. It might not be valid, or at the very least it would be a simplistic overstatement, to say that people "DO behave in these ways." Keenan bases her argument on her experiences in Malagasy. Focusing on the Gricean maxim "Be informative—give as much information as is called for," Keenan notes that, if Grice is right about the universality of application for this rule, interlocutors will typically meet the informational needs of others involved in the conversation. It will be expected that if information is requested by one interlocutor and known to another participant in the conversation, this information will be provided. Further, the blatant withholding of information in any conversation should result in implicature. But, as Keenan observes, this is not the case in the Malagasy society. Speakers regularly transgress this rule yet the implicature is not made because the expectation that the participants will fulfill the informational requirements of their fellow interlocutors is not a basic norm. Keenan offers a number of cultural reasons (the stigma of guilt attached to those who provide incorrect or damaging information and the relative rarity of new information in the society) as well as situational constraints (the familiarity of the interlocutors and the gender of the speaker) which account for the speakers' failure to adhere to the maxim "Be informative" and for the fact that conversational implicature does not result from this failure.

Keenan is not arguing that Gricean maxims are the wrong principles and that conversation is based on some other rules. Nor is she saying that different languages have mutually exclusive principles around which conversations are organized. Rather she says (in speaking about the maxim "Be informative"),

> we do not expect to find that in some societies the maxim always holds and in some societies maxim never holds. It is improbable, for example, that there is some society in which being informative is categorically inappropriate. Differences between societies, if there are any, are more likely to be differences in specification of domains in which the maxim is expected to hold and differences in the degree to which members are expected to conform to this maxim (1976:69).

In this view, Gricean principles are best regarded as a framework; the conversational practices of different speech groups can be compared and contrasted within this frame. This type of investigation would show, as Keenan's does, when the Cooperative Principle and maxims hold and when they do not for a cultural group and in varying situations. As Keenan concludes, "The motivation for its (any maxim's) use or abuse may reveal values and orientations that separate one society from another and that separate social groups (e.g. men, women, kinsmen, strangers) within a single society" (1976:79).

In the remainder of this paper, I report the results of two pilot studies designed to be preliminary examinations of questions raised by the work of Grice and Keenan. The first of these studies attempts to assess the universality of the conversational principles delineated by Grice and the process of forming implication which he maintains follows from speakers' failure to fulfill the requirements of conversational rules. In light of the results of the first study, the second endeavors to evaluate the relative importance and applicability of the conversational principles for speakers from differing cultural groups.

Study I

If, as Grice suggests, these rules of conversation and the manipulation of these rules to create implicature are universal phenomena, then there should be clear cases of implicature in all languages. In addition, if Gricean maxims are genuinely universal, then they should operate across languages. Non-native speakers of a language, providing they have a basic command of that language, including knowledge of the meanings of words and pertinent background information, ought to be able to produce and understand implication in L2. In the first study, I focus on the ability to understand implications in L2 by comparing the perceptions of examples of implicature in English for native and non-native speakers of English.

Subjects

Thirty subjects participated in this study; fifteen L2 language students and fifteen American students. The L2 students were all members of an advanced English language class at the English Language Center at Michigan State University (level determined by placement test). This group consisted of ten males and five females who represented a variety of language backgrounds (Japanese, Spanish, Farsi, and Korean). The ages of these subjects ranged from 18 to 43 (although eleven of the fifteen fell between 18 and 25). The fifteen American students were members of an introductory level course on language at Michigan State University. This group consisted of eight females and seven males who ranged in age from 19 to 28 (fourteen of the fifteen were between 19 and 24). The responses of these two groups to the examples of implicature were eventually compared.

Task

Subjects were asked to read brief descriptions of fifteen situations, each of which contained an example of conversational implicature. They were then asked to paraphrase (in writing) the situations described. The complete instrument used in this study appears in Appendix A. This indirect method was used to assess the understanding of the implicature in an effort to avoid forcing subjects to focus on implied meaning that they might not otherwise notice. If, as Grice insists, the implication which results from the transgressions of conversational rules is the meaning of the utterance, then it follows that paraphrases of the meaning of conversations should include the implied meaning. A pretest with five English speakers indicated that this indeed was the case.

Results

The written responses were read by two researchers, and in the case of disagreement, by a third investigator. For each response the researchers scored one of the following: A. the subject did understand the implicature; B. the subject did not understand the implicature; or C. Other—it was not possible to determine. For instance, in the following example,

> William Smith, a professor of Philosophy, has been asked to supply a letter of reference for one of his students, Jim Jones. He knows Jones very well and is familiar with his work. Jones is applying for a job as a Philosophy teacher. Smith writes:
>
> Dear Sir:
>
> Jim Jones has completed all required work and he has never missed a class.
>
> Sincerely,
> W. Smith

Responses which indicated that this was not a good letter of recommendation were scored A: subject did understand the implicature. Subjects who indicated that Professor Smith had written a good recommendation for

Jones were considered to have missed the implication and were scored B. Finally, if no mention of the quality of the recommendation appeared or if subjects replied with apparently idiosyncratic reading of the situation, such as "Professor Smith is in love with Jones' wife," the researchers scored C: other.

Grice suggests that conversational implicature falls into three major types: (1) unstated connection between remarks; (2) clash of two maxims; and, (3) flouting of a maxim. In the following summary of the results of Study I, each of these types is treated in turn.

The first type of implicature involves cases where there is no apparent or obvious violation of a maxim. The implied meaning is a result of the unstated connection between remarks, as in the following example (discussed above):

A. John failed his math test.
B. Being on the track team demands a lot of time.

Other examples of this type appear in Appendix A, numbers 2 and 3. When confronted with implicature of this kind, non-native informants scored almost as well as native speakers. As Table I shows, native speakers reported Type I implications 64% of the time compared to 60% for non-native subjects; these same L2 informants did not understand the implication for 20% of the cases, or slightly less often than the American subjects (22%).

TABLE I
Type I Implication:
Unstated Connection Between Remarks

Subjects	Understood	Not Understood	Other
Americans	64% (29)*	22% (10)	13% (6)
L2	60% (27)	20% (9)	20% (9)

*The numbers appearing in parentheses are the total number of occurrences.

Similar results emerge for Type II implicature. This type occurs when there is a clash between two maxims and the speaker is forced to choose one, as in the example (also discussed earlier),

A. When is Mary returning?
B. Either Tuesday or Wednesday.

in which speaker B is obliged to choose between the maxims "be informative" and "don't say what you lack evidence for." As with Type I implicature, there is very little difference between the performance of native and non-native subjects. See Table II. Neither group misinterpreted the implication, and non-native informants seem to have understood the implied meaning almost as readily as the American subjects (80% for non-native subjects compared to 86% for native subjects). For both Types I and II, then, the difference in understanding implied meaning for L1 and L2 informants is very slight.

TABLE 2
Type II Implication:
Clash of Two Maxims

Subjects	Understood	Not Understood	Other
Americans	86% (13)	—	14% (2)
L2	80% (12)	—	20% (3)

For examples of Type III implicature—a maxim is flouted—the performance of the two groups is less uniform. The following examples illustrate the various ways that Gricean principles may be flouted.

(1) John: I'm thinking about hiring Bill to work in my store. Do you think I can trust him?

Paul: Absolutely! He's one of the most honest, upright people on the face of the earth. Why, I don't remember ever hearing anyone say anything to indicate that Bill is anything other than trustworthy and honest. Even during that cheating scandal last year Bill was in the clear. He said he didn't have anything to do with it. If I were you, I'd trust him with any sum of money; he's really an honest guy in every sense of the word. He's always ready to do me a favor when I need it. I've often heard people say what a good guy he is. They say he's honest, too.

In this example, the maxim of Quantity is transgressed—too much information is provided, while in the example discussed above (Professor Smith's letter), too little information is given, another form of flouting this maxim. A third instance of failure to fulfill the requirements of the maxim of Quantity appears in Appendix A, number 6. In another example,

(2) Bill and Peter have been friends since they were children. They roomed together in college and traveled together after graduation. Bill has just learned that Peter has been dating his (Bill's) fiancee. Bill says to a group of friends, "Peter is a fine friend."

the maxim of Quality (don't say that which you know to be false) is flouted. Numbers 9 and 10 in Appendix A also illustrate transgressions against this maxim.

Examples (3) and (4) below deal with the maxim of Relation and Manner respectively.

(3) At a genteel tea party, Mary suddenly says, "Our hostess, Mrs. Jones, is an old bag." There is silence for a few seconds and then Mrs. Smith says, "The weather has been quite nice this summer, hasn't it?"

(4) At a recent party there was a lot of singing and piano playing. Mary sang the song "Home Sweet Home" while Sue played the piano. When Tom, who had to miss the party, asks Sue what Mary sang, Sue answers, "Mary produced a series of sounds that corresponded somewhat with the sounds of 'Home Sweet Home'."

In (3) there is a flouting of the requirement that speakers be relevant in their conversational contributions, and in (4) the speaker is deliberately obscure, a violation of the maxim of Manner. Other instances of these types appear in Appendix A, numbers 12 (Relation), 14 and 15 (Manner).

The following four tables summarize the results of the analysis of L1 and L2 subjects responses to examples of implicature in which the maxims are flouted.

TABLE 3

Type III A—Implication Involving
The Flouting of a Maxim: Quantity

Subjects	Understood	Not Understood	Other
Americans	56% (25)	37% (17)	6% (3)
L2	20% (9)	71% (32)	8% (4)

TABLE 4

Type III B—Implication Involving
The Flouting of a Maxim: Quality

Subjects	Understood	Not Understood	Other
Americans	84% (38)	9% (4)	6% (3)
L2	71% (32)	22% (10)	6% (3)

TABLE 5

Type III C—Implication Involving
The Flouting of a Maxim: Relation

Subjects	Understood	Not Understood	Other
Americans	96% (29)	—	3% (1)
L2	70% (21)	—	30% (9)

TABLE 6
Type III D—Implication Involving
The Flouting of a Maxim: Manner

Subjects	Understood	Not Understood	Other
Americans	86% (39)	5% (2)	9% (4)
L2	73% (33)	11% (5)	15% (7)

When the maxim of Quality is transgressed (Table 4), the native subjects reported the implied meaning in 84% of the cases; the L2 subjects in 71%. Similar results emerged for those examples which contained instances in which the maxim of Manner was flouted (Table 6)—American subjects reported the implicature for 86% of the examples offered and the non-native subjects 73%. While the differences between the performances of the two groups for examples which flout these two maxims doubles that for instances of implicature of Types I and II, the responses of the two groups are still somewhat similar. On the other hand, instances of flouting of the maxims of Quantity and Relation (Tables 3 and 5) elicited responses which appear to indicate that significant differences may exist in native and non-native speakers' abilities to perceive implicature in English. When the maxim "be relevant" was violated, American subjects recognized the implicature a full 96% of the time. L2 subjects reported the implied meaning for a corresponding 70% of the cases. There were no instances of implicature being misinterpreted by either the American or the L2 subjects.

The differences were even more pronounced for those cases illustrating a flouting of the maxim, "be informative" (see Table 3). Neither group appears to have understood the implied meaning as readily for this category; native subjects reported the implications 56% of the time, while non-native respondents performed more poorly still, understanding the implicature in a scant 20% of the cases. More importantly, the L2 subjects actually misinterpreted the implications (for example, called Professor Smith's letter a good reference) a full 71% of the time, compared to 37% for the American subjects. If examples of underinforming—"give as much information as is called for"—are separated from those of overinforming—"don't give more information than is called for"—it becomes clear that the largest divergence between the groups is in their understanding of implicature which results when speakers underinform fellow interlocutors, that is, when they fail to meet the informational needs of others involved in a conversation. L2 subjects reported implied meaning only 20% of the time, while American informants reported implied meaning for 66% of the cases for these same examples.

What evidence do these data lend to the question of universality of conversational postulates? For many examples of implicature, the non-native respondents appear to have understood the implicature almost as readily as their American counterparts. Following Gricean logic, this would mean that the two groups are aware of the conversational rules which are being manipulated to create implicature. However, for some cases of implicature, especially when the maxim of Quantity is flouted, the data are more problematic. The results of an analysis of L2 subjects' understanding of examples of implication in which the speaker clearly does not meet the informational needs of fellow interlocutors, most notably when the speaker underinforms the listener, suggests that the underlying maxim "be informative" (and perhaps the maxim "be relevant" as well; see Table 5) does not have the same status or applicability as the other conversational postulates proposed by Grice. This is, of course, essentially Keenan's argument (discussed above). She points out that differing conversational expectations, which may be culturally or situationally based, might influence the operation of these rules. In light of the results of the first pilot study, a second investigation was designed to examine factors that might account for the L2 speakers' failure to recognize implicature based on the flouting of any of the maxims described by Grice.

Study II

Study II, then, was an attempt to discover which cultural or situational constraints, if any, might account for the L2 respondents' failure to recognize instances of conversational implicature in English. The L2 subjects from Study I and two additional subjects who were both bicultural and bilingual (one in Spanish [from Puerto Rico] and the other in Japanese) were asked to read a summary of Grice's conversational principles and to comment in writing on the relative importance and applicability of the principles in their cultures and languages. Respondents were asked to indicate in as much detail as possible under what conditions the rules would and would not apply and what the results of the failure to comply with these rules would be. The instrument used in Study II appears in Appendix B.

Although the results of an informal and unstructured questionnaire of this type are difficult to quantify, the respondents made a number of interesting observations which bear on the question of constraints on the operation of conversational principles. Among these are:

Korean informants agreed that politeness demands that as much information as possible be given fellow interlocutors. If a speaker underinforms, the assumption will be that more information is simply not available to that speaker; no implication is made since the general understanding is that speakers will follow rules of politeness that require providing full information. This notion of politeness was neatly summarized by one informant who concluded, "For Koreans, politeness is the most important thing. If you do not give the information, you will be considered rude, [it is] bad education or bad manners."

Japanese subjects indicated that it is a sign of status when a speaker remains silent. The interlocutor who commands the highest status position, then, will be expected to contribute least to the conversation. The expectation is that persons of status will fail to meet the informational needs of fellow conversationalists; no implication will follow. Rather the behavior will simply be regarded as an assertion of that status. The following summary of one subject's response clearly illustrates the importance of status in the operation of the conversational rules:

> In a traditional setting, it is often considered best to say very little. Persons of superior status with a conversation group will often keep silent unless an opinion is specifically asked for, . . . and often even then . . . People of higher status do not really have to follow these rules.

Furthermore the respondents agreed that a general practice of providing information indirectly is preferred among Japanese speakers since direct statements are considered harsh or rude. The sex of the speakers will also determine how they act with respect to the conversational rules. Women, who "generally still have a secondary role in society," are not expected to follow the practice of fulfilling the informational needs of others engaged in a talk exchange. No implicature ensues from this failure to "be informative" since there is a general expectation that women will remain silent and will, if at all possible, defer to men in conversation.

There was a general agreement among Spanish speaking informants (Venezuelan, Mexican, and Puerto Rican) that the maxim "be informative" was not strictly followed in conversational practice. Usually speakers overinform, with no resultant implicature. Two informants suggested that the ability to continue speaking (which often involves overinforming) is highly valued, especially among men, who typically "like to play with words." One subject noted that when there is a clash between the maxims "be informative" and "don't say what you lack evidence for," speakers will choose to "be polite" and provide information—even if they suspect that the information is not accurate. Although the informants agreed that it was important to be truthful, they fully expect that most speakers will be inaccurate in their statements about time. As a Venezuelan subject explained:

> We are sometimes untruthful about time. Not really untruthful, but we use what is called "la hora latina"—latin time, which means later than the real time. If someone says, "I'll be there at 8," nobody really expects him at that time. In fact it would be rude to show up at the time you had specified since no one would expect you and wouldn't be ready for you . . .

The Puerto Rican Informant (bilingual/bicultural) observed that the maxim "be relevant" is frequently flouted, with no apparent implication resulting. She suggests that speakers routinely ignore this maxim and interject unrelated considered agressive but certainly not uncommon and does not cause implicature because of the expectations of the other speakers, who themselves may follow with equally irrelevant comments in an effort to gain the floor.

The two Iranian informants noted that while the maxims are generally followed in conversation, the gender of the speaker will affect the conversational expectations of fellow interlocutors. If the speaker is a woman, the expectation is that she will overinform ("women generally talk more than men, especially gossip"); no implication results because of this assumption. Finally the respondents agreed that the familiarity of the speakers will have an effect on the extent to which these rules of conversation will operate.

Conclusion

The results of these two pilot investigations suggest that, at the very least, Grice's assertion about the conversational rules he formulated—". . . it is just a well-recognized empirical fact that people *do* behave in these ways"—is a simplification of a complex phenomenon, that of conversational interaction. As the Keenan study and the present investigation show, speakers do not uniformly respond to the manipulation of these rules as a Gricean analysis predicts they will. The research further suggests that the failure to recognize implicature is related to the conversational expectations of the interlocutors and that these expectations may vary because of cultural or situational constraints on the operation of these rules. Continued research of the Keenan type (in-field studies) and investigations like the current work which study the operation of implicature and which would control for such factors as the language/culture, age, and gender of the respondents and would focus on cultural and situational constraints (for example, the significance of the information and the familiarity of the interlocutors) will undoubtedly provide valuable insight into the variability of discourse systems among various cultures and groups.

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APPENDIX A

Instrument Used in Study 1*

Directions: Please paraphrase (restate in your own words) each of the following conversations/situations.

Note that there is no correct answer; please feel free to rephrase the situations in whatever way you think is appropriate.

1. Speaker A: John failed his math test.
   Speaker B: Being on the track team demands a lot of time.
2. Mary: This book is overdue.
   John: The library is open until 10 o'clock.
3. Tom: John doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days.
   Bob: He's been making a lot of visits to Detroit lately.
4. Speaker A: When is Mary returning?
   Speaker B: Either Tuesday or Wednesday.
5. William Smith, a professor of Philosophy, has been asked to supply a letter of reference for one of his students, Jim Jones. He knows Jones very well and is familiar with his work. Jones is applying for a job as a philosophy teacher. Smith writes:

   Dear Sir:
   Jim Jones has completed all required work and he has never missed a class.
   Sincerely,
   W. Smith
6. Mary: Sue, how do you like my haircut?
   Sue: Oh, you got your hair cut. God, haircuts are expensive these days. The last time I got one it cost me a bundle. And nobody even noticed it. Isn't it funny how sometimes it's hard to notice haircuts? It happens to my mother, too. I think I might as well not bother keeping my hair cut; it's so expensive and so much trouble.
7. John: I'm thinking about hiring Bill to work in my store. Do you think I can trust him?
   Paul: Absolutely! He's one of the most honest, upright people on the face of the earth. Why, I don't remember ever hearing anyone say anything to indicate that Bill is anything other than trustworthy and honest. Even during that cheating scandal last year Bill was in the clear. He said he didn't have anything to do with it. If I were you, I'd trust him with any sum of money; he's really an honest guy in every sense of the word. He's always ready to do me a favor when I need it. I've often heard people say what a good guy he is. They say he's honest, too.
8. Bill and Peter have been friends since they were children. They roomed together in college and traveled together after graduation. Bill has just learned that Peter has been dating his (Bill's) fiancee. Bill says to a group of friends, "Peter is a fine friend."
9. Professor Jones has just given a long, boring, and pointless lecture. As the students are leaving the lecture hall, one says, "We could all learn a lot from Professor Jones."
10. At a party John has been watching Bill's wife, a very pretty and friendly woman. John says to another friend, "Bill's wife is probably cheating on him."
11. At a genteel tea party, Mary suddenly says, "Our hostess, Mrs. Jones, is an old bag." There is silence for a few seconds and then Mrs. Smith says, "The weather has been quite nice this summer, hasn't it?"
12. Bob and Bill are talking about Bob's recent engagement to Mary Smith. Paul joins them and says, "Wow! I went dancing last night and saw Mary Smith at the bar. Can she shake it! She had all the guys going crazy!" Bill quickly says, "Hey Paul, what are we doing in math class tomorrow."
13. At a recent party there was a lot of singing and piano playing. Mary sang the song "Home Sweet Home" while Sue played the piano. When Tom, who had to miss the party, asks Sue what Mary sang, Sue answers, "Mary produced a series of sounds that corresponded somewhat with the sounds of 'Home Sweet Home'."
14. John: How does Tom like his new job at the bank?
    Bill: Oh very well, I think. He likes his fellow workers and he hasn't been to prison yet.
15. John: Do you think Mary will ever have any children?
    Sue: As far as I know, Mary can't bear children.

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* Adapted from or following Grice.

APPENDIX B

Instrument Used In Study II

Name ______________________ Male __________ Female __________
Age ______________________ Native Country ______________________
Native Language ______________________ Length of time in U.S. ______________
Years of Instruction ______________________ Other languages spoken ______________

How much contact do you have with Americans (please be specific):

— for business purposes (doctor, bank, etc.)

— for social reasons

It has been suggested that all speakers of all languages, in speaking their native language and in speaking any foreign language, follow certain conversational rules. In general the rules can be summarized as follows:

> make your conversational contribution at the time when it is appropriate and keep with the general topic or direction of the conversation in which you are participating.

There are a number of more specific rules which follow from the general guidelines above:

1. give as much information as is called for by the situation, not too much and not too little.
2. tell the truth—that is, don't say things you know are false and don't say things you don't have proof for.
3. be relevant—that is, make sure your comments make sense in the conversation. Anything you say should be related to what other people in the conversation are saying.
4. be clear—that is, don't be deliberately vague or ambiguous in what you say and make sure that you are brief and orderly in what you say.

The argument is that we obey these rules in usual conversation (not in unusual situations—for example, if we are trying to deceive someone) because we have an interest in participation in conversation and we know that if we don't obey the rules and if the people we talk to don't obey them, then it will be impossible to have a sensible conversation.

I am interested in trying to determine if all people in all cultures actually obey these rules all of the time in conversation or if some of the rules are regularly ignored or considered less important than others. To help me in my investigation of these questions, could you please provide as much detail as possible in response to the following questions.

1. In your country do people regularly obey the rules listed above in conversation?
2. Can you think of any examples of situations when people do not obey these rules (please specify which rules they do not follow and give specific details about the situations in which they do not follow the rules)?
3. Are any of the rules more important than others in your country? Which are the most important and why?
4. What happens when these conversational rules are not obeyed in your culture; that is, how do other people involved in the conversation interpret the fact that a speaker is obviously disregarding these conversational rules? An example that illustrates what would happen in this type of case would be useful.

Native Speaker/Non-Native Speaker Conversation in the Second Language Classroom

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Introduction

Several recent studies of second language acquisition (SLA) and use have focused on native speaker/non-native speaker (NS-NNS) conversation and its role in the acquisition process. Much of that work has been concerned with ways in which samples of the target language are made comprehensible to the learner. This interest has been motivated by claims that it is primarily comprehensible input which feeds the acquisition process, language heard but not understood generally being thought to be of little or no use for this purpose. Other similarly motivated research has been conducted on talk by teachers and students. More recently, some explicit comparisons have been made of NS-NNS conversation inside and outside the SL classroom.

The purpose of this paper is briefly to review what has been learned by the research so far, and to suggest implications for SL teaching. The paper is in five sections. First, I summarize the evidence in support of what has become known as "the input hypothesis". Second, I describe ways in which input is made comprehensible to the SL learner. Third, I present some research findings which suggest a crucial characteristic of NS-NNS conversation whose product for the learner is comprehensible input. Fourth, I report some work on ESL teaching which looks at how successful classroom discourse is at providing learners with comprehensible input. Fifth, and last, I suggest some ways in which teaching might be improved in this respect.

The Input Hypothesis

To paraphrase Krashen (1980), the fundamental question for SLA research is how a learner at some stage, 'i' of interlanguage development moves to the next stage, 'i + 1'. In other words, how does he or she acquire? Part of Krashen's answer is as follows:

> "a necessary condition to move from stage i to stage i + 1 is that the acquirer understand input that contains i + 1, where 'understand' means that the acquirer is focused on the meaning and not the form of the utterance." (*op. cit.* p.)

Krashen goes on to claim that this seemingly impossible task is achieved through use of the learner's current grammar, that which underlies 'i', plus use of context, or extralinguistic information, i.e. knowledge of the world. The task is seemingly impossible because the learner by definition does not know language at 'i + 1'. Interlanguage development is achieved, in other words, through obtaining input which contains the structures of 'i + 1', and yet is comprehensible. Understanding precedes growth. In support of his version of the input hypothesis, Krashen offers four pieces of evidence, which, for the sake of brevity, I merely summarize here (for details, see Krashen, 1978, 1980).

1. Caretaker speech is modified, not in a deliberate attempt to teach young children the language, but in order to aid comprehension. Further, and crucially, it is only *roughly* tuned to the child's current linguistic capabilities. It therefore contains structures below, at and *a little beyond* the child's level. Its frequent focus on the "here and now" is one way the new structures are made comprehensible.

2. Speech by NSs is modified for use with NNS in much the same way as caretaker speech. It, too, is only roughly tuned, more advanced learners getting more complex input, with the focus again on communication rather than on teaching the language *per se*. The modified code, 'foreigner talk', also contains structures below, at, and a little beyond the learner's current proficiency level, with the same potential advantages to the acquirer (built-in "review" and opportunities for further development).

3. The "silent period" observed in some young children is due to the SL acquirer building up competence via listening, by understanding language, prior to speaking. Denial of the option of a silent period to the learner, e.g. through the pressure to speak (performance without competence) on most adults and formally instructed learners, is what leads to their having to fall back on the L1, resulting in first language transfer.

4. Research on the relative effectiveness of teaching methods suggests that there is little difference among various methods which provide learners with insufficient comprehensible input. On the other hand, methods which do provide such input, such as TPR and the Natural Approach, tend to do well when compared with those in the former group.

While the evidence Krashen adduces is indeed consistent with his claim, it is not very strong evidence. The data on caretaker speech and foreigner talk, as he is aware, merely show co-occurring phenomena. The silent period is by no means always found, even in child acquirers, and is open to various other interpretations (e.g. personality differences, language shock, culture shock). The "comparative methods" studies have often suffered from lack of control over potentially confounding variables (see Long, 1980a). There is, however, additional evidence for the input hypothesis. The following is again only a brief summary (for further details, see Long, 1981a).

5. While few direct comparisons are available, studies have generally found

immersion programs superior to foreign or second language programs (for review, see Genesee, 1979; Swain, 1974; Tucker, 1980). Indeed, so successful is immersion that comparison groups are typically monolingual speakers of the immersion language, something nearly unthinkable for most foreign or SL program evaluation. While clearly not a monolithic concept, immersion may fairly be characterized, according to one authority (Swain, 1981a), as focusing initially on the development of target language comprehension rather than production skills, content rather than form, and as attempting to teach content through the SL in language the children can understand. Modern language teaching, on the other hand, generally focuses on formal accuracy, is structurally graded and sentence-bound, and demands early (even immediate) production of nearly all material presented to the learner.

6. For students in immersion programs, additional exposure to the target language outside the school does not seem to facilitate acquisition. Swain (1981b) found no difference in the French skills of French immersion students in Canadian towns where little or no French was spoken and those in towns where, as in the case of Montreal, as much as 65% of language on the street was French. This is presumably because the French of native speakers of French in the wider environment was not addressed to non-native speakers but to other native speakers, and was, therefore, incomprehensible to the immersion children.

7. Lastly, and the strongest evidence to date, acquisition is either severely delayed or does not occur at all if comprehensible input is *un*available. This is true for first and second language acquisition by both adults and children. Thus, hearing children of deaf adults have been severely language delayed when their only input was adult-adult speech on television, yet have caught up with other children when normal adult-child conversation was made available to them (Bard and Sachs, 1977; Jones and Quigley, 1979; Sachs, Bard and Johnson, 1981; Sachs and Johnson, 1976). The hearing children of deaf adults who made normal progress, as reported by Schiff (1979), are not counter-examples since each child in that study had between 10 and 25 hours per week of conversation with hearing adults. Analogous cases exist in the SLA literature. Thus, young Dutch children who watched German television programs have been noted not to acquire German through so doing (Snow, Arlman-Rupp, Hassing, Jobse, Joosten and Vorster, 1976). Three motivated English-speaking adults, two of whom were linguistically sophisticated, were found to have acquired no more than some 50 stock vocabulary items and a few conversational formulae in Mandarin and Cantonese after seven months in a Chinese-speaking environment (see Long, 1981a, for further details). A single counter-example, reported by Larsen-Freeman (1979), of a German adult who claimed to have acquired Dutch only by listening to Dutch radio broadcasts can be explained by the similarities between the two languages allowing native fluency in one to serve as basic competence in the other.

In general, therefore, it seems that all the available evidence is consistent with the idea that a *beginning* learner, at least, must have comprehensible input if he or she is to acquire either a first or a second language:

1. Access to comprehensible input is a characteristic of all cases of successful acquisition, first and second (cases 1, 2, 3 and 5, above.).

2. Greater quantities of comprehensible input seem to result in better (or at least faster) acquisition (case 4).

And crucially,

3. Lack of access to comprehensible input (as distinct from *in*comprehensible, not any, input) results in little or no acquisition (cases 6 and 7). Like any genuine hypothesis, the input hypothesis has not been proven. There has been no direct test of it to date. Currently, however, it is sustained because the predictions it makes are consistent with the available data. It has yet to be disconfirmed.

How Input is Made Comprehensible

Having established a *prima facie* case for the important role of comprehensible input in all forms of language acquisition, including SLA, the next question that arises is how input becomes comprehensible. It is widely believed that one way is through the hundred and one speech modifications NSs are supposed to make when talking to foreigners, e.g. use of shorter, syntactically less complex utterances, high frequency vocabulary and low type-token ratios (for review, see Hatch, 1979; Long, 1980b, 1981a). In other words, NSs are supposed to make input to NNSs comprehensible by modifying the input itself. There are, however, several problems with this position.

First, many of the input modifications often claimed to characterize foreigner talk have no empirical basis. They are the product of assertions by researchers after examining *only* speech by NSs to non-natives. For example, an impressionistic judgement is made that a NS is using short utterances or high frequency lexical items, and it is then claimed that foreigner talk is characterized by shorter utterances and higher frequency lexical items than speech to other NSs. For such a claim to be justified, *comparison* of speech to non-natives and natives is required. Further, when comparisons are made, the two corpora must be based on equivalent (preferably identical) speech situations, or else any differences observed may be due to differences in task, age, familiarity of speakers, etc. rather than or as well as the status of the interlocutor as a native or non-native speaker. A review of the foreigner talk literature (Long, 1980b, 1981b) found many studies to have used no NS baseline data at all, and almost none of those that had to have used data comparable in these ways. Further, findings had frequently not been quantified, and when quantified, often not tested for statistical significance of the claimed differences. Findings both within and across studies had also been very variable.

Second, there seems to be no evidence that input modifications made by NSs for the supposed benefit of NNSs actually have this effect. One study (Chaudron, in press) explicitly deals with this issue in the area of lexical changes, and concludes that many modifications may actually cause the learner greater problems of comprehension. "Simplification" is an interactional phenomenon. As Meisel (1977)L and Larsen-Freeman (1979) have pointed out, what may be easier to produce from the speaker's perspective may be more difficult to decode from the perspective of the hearer. A shorter utterance, for example, will usually exhibit less redundancy.

Third, there is a logical problem with the idea that changing the input will aid *acquisition*. If removal from the input of structures and lexical items the learner does not understand is what is involved in making speech comprehensible, how does the learner ever advance? Where is the input at i + 1 that is to appear in the learner's competence at the next stage of development?

Clearly, there must be other ways in which input is made comprehensible than modifying the input itself. One way, as Krashen, Hatch and others have argued, is by use of the linguistic and extralinguistic context to fill in the gaps, just as NSs have been shown to do when the incoming speech signal is inadequate (Warren and Warren, 1970). Another way, as in caretaker speech, is through orienting even adult-adult NS-NNS conversation to the "here and now" (Gaies, 1981; Long, 1980b, 1981c). A third, more consistently used method is modifying not the input itself, but the *interactional structure of conversation* through such devices as self- and other-repetition, confirmation and comprehension checks and clarification requests (Long, 1980b, 1981a, in press).

Two pieces of evidence suggest that this third way of making input comprehensible is the most important and most widely used of all. First, all studies which have looked at this dimension of NS-NNS conversation have found statistically significant modifications from NS-NS norms. Interactional modifications, in other words, are pervasive. Second, interactional modifications are found in NS-NNS conversation even when input modifications are not or are few and minor. Thus, in one study (Long, 1980b), the structure of NS-NNS conversation in 16 dyads on six different tasks was significantly different from that of conversation in 16 NS-NS control dyads on the same tasks on 10 out of 11 measures (see Table 1). There were no statistically significant differences, on the other hand, on four out of five measures of input modification in the same conversations (see Table 1). Similar results have been obtained in several other studies (e.g. Gaies, 1981; Sperry, 1981; Yorinks, 1981; Weinberger, 1981).

In summary, there are probably several ways in which input is made comprehensible. (1) Use of structures and lexis with which the interlocutor is already familiar is certainly one way, but this kind of modification of the input itself may not be as widespread or as great as is often assumed. It can, in any case, serve only the immediate needs of communication, not the future interlanguage development of the learner, for by definition it denies him or her access to new linguistic material. (2) A "here and now" orientation in conversation and the use of linguistic and extralinguistic (contextual) information and general knowledge also play a role. So, more importantly, does (3) modification of the interactional structure of the conversation, i.e. change at the level of discourse. While all three methods may aid communication, (2) and (3) are those likely to aid acquisition, for each allows communication to proceed while exposing the learner to linguistic material which he or she cannot yet handle without their help. (2) and (3) serve to make that *unfamiliar* linguistic input comprehensible.

Table 1

Differences between NS-NS and NS-NNS conversation across six tasks*

In NS-NNS conversation, there was/were:	p level
INPUT	
1. shorter average length of T-units	.005
2. lower number of S-nodes per T-unit	NS
3. lower type-token ratio	NS
4. higher average lexical frequency of nouns and verbs	NS
5. higher proportion of copulas in total verbs	NS
INTERACTION	
6. more present (versus non-present) temporal marking of verbs	.001
7. different distribution of questions, statements and imperatives in T-units (more questions)	.001
8. different distribution of question-types in T-units (more Wh questions)	.001
9. more conversational frames	NS
10. more confirmation checks	.005
11. more comprehension checks	.005
12. more clarification requests	.005
13. more self-repetitions	.005
14. more other-repetitions	.005
15. more expansions	.005
16. more of 9 through 15 combined	.005

* Data from Long (1980b).

Information Exchange and Comprehensible Input

As indicated above, the results reported in Table 1 were for performance by the 32 dyads across all six tasks in the study. One of the general research hypotheses, however, was that there would be *differential* performance on the tasks. Specifically, it was predicted that modifications of both kinds (of input and of the interactional structure of conversation) in NS-NNS conversation would be greater on those tasks whose completion required a two-way exchange of information.

Work in both first and second language research has suggested that it is in part verbal feedback from the language learner that enables the caretaker or

NS to adjust his or her speech to the interlocutor, child or adult, (Berko Gleason, 1977; Gaies, in press). Thus, Snow (1972) found that mothers, who were already familiar with their young children's linguistic abilities, nevertheless made few adjustments in their speech when preparing tape-recordings for them in their absence. The same mothers modified their speech significantly in face-to-face conversation with the children. Similarly, Stayaert (1977) found no statistically significant modifications in the speech of NSs telling stories to ESL classes, a result which could be explained by the lack of feedback in the story-telling task.

In both these studies, the tasks which did not produce significant changes in the competent speakers' speech involved participants with information communicating it to others who lacked it, hereafter "one-way" tasks. Tasks of this type in the Long (1980b) study were (in the order of their presentation): (2) vicarious narrative, (3) giving instructions, and (6) discussing the supposed purpose of the research (i.e. expressing an opinion). Three other tasks in that study were "two-way", in that each member of a dyad started with information which the other lacked but needed if the task were to be completed. These tasks were: (1) conversation, (4) and (5) playing two communication games, e.g. with visual contact prevented by a screen, finding differences between two nearly identical pictures. The tasks were performed by all dyads in the order indicated above.

The results are presented in Table 2. Performance by the NS-NNS dyads was statistically significantly different from that by NS-NS dyads on the three tasks requiring a two-way information exchange for their completion, but not so on the three one-way tasks, those not requiring this exchange.

Table 2

Relationship between task-type and NS-NS and NS-NNS conversation**

The degree of difference between NS-NS and NS-NNS conversation in performance on:	Tasks 1, 4 & 5	Tasks 2, 3 & 6
	(+ information exchange)	(− information exchange)
INPUT		
1. average length of T-units	$p < .025$ (NS)	$p > .025$ (NS)
2. number of S-nodes per T-unit	$p < .01$ (NS)	$p < .025$ (NS)
INTERACTION		
3. distribution of questions, statements and imperatives in T-units	$p < .001$	$p < .005$
4. number of conversational frames	$p > .025$ (NS)	$p > .025$ (NS)
5. number of confirmation checks	$p < .005$	$p < .01$ (NS)
6. number of comprehension checks	$p < .005$	$p > .025$ (NS)
7. number of clarification requests	$p < .005$	$p > .025$ (NS)
8. number of self-repetitions	$p < .005$	$p < .005$
9. number of other-repetitions	$p < .005$	$p > .025$ (NS)
10. number of expansions	$p < .005$	— (NS)*
11. number of 4 through 10 combined	$p < .005$	$p > .025$ (NS)

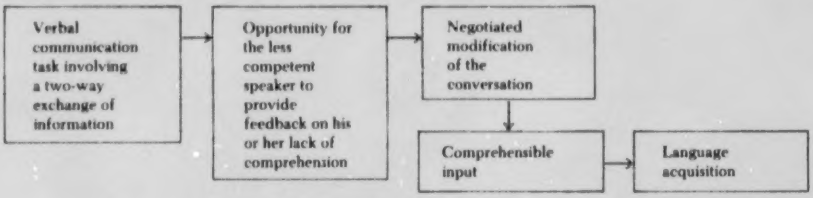
* There were no instances of expansions on these tasks

** Data from Long (1980b).

The model that is suggested by the findings reported above, together with the literature reviewed in the two previous sections of this paper, is shown in Figure 1. The need to obtain information from (not simply transmit information to) the less competent speaker means that the competent speaker cannot press ahead (in largely unmodified speech) without attending to the feedback (verbal and non-verbal) he or she is receiving. The option to provide feedback allows the less competent speaker to negotiate the conversation, to force the competent speaker to adjust his or her performance, via modifications of the kinds discussed earlier, until what he or she is saying is comprehensible. Comprehensible input, it has already been argued, feeds acquisition.

FIGURE 1

Model of the relationship between type of conversational task and language acquisition


Verbal communication task involving a two-way exchange of information
Opportunity for the less competent speaker to provide feedback on his or her lack of comprehension
Negotiated modification of the conversation
Comprehensible input
Language acquisition

The model is presumably applicable to all conversations between those who control a code to a higher degree of proficiency than those with whom they are attempting to communicate, including NSs in conversation with NNSs, caretakers with young children, and normal adults and children with the mentally retarded. The model predicts, among other things, that communication involving a two-way exchange of information will provide more comprehensible input than communication which does not. Two-way communication tasks should also promote acquisition better than one-way tasks, for one-way tasks cannot guarantee the kinds of modifications needed to make input comprehensible.

Classroom NS-NNS Conversation

The data and discussion thus far have centered around NS-NNS conversation outside the classroom setting. This section reviews some recent empirical work on the same issues in classroom English as a second language (ESL).

Many traditional analyses of classroom discourse have emphasized its instructional purpose. The focus has been the language of participants in the roles of 'teacher' and 'student' rather than the conversation of native and non-native speakers. Thus, descriptive categories have included such items as 'lecturing', 'praising', 'correction', 'drill', 'teacher question' and 'student response', 'presentation' and 'practice', where the pedagogic function of classroom language is clearly uppermost in the researcher's mind. Direct reference to target language skills or subject matter has also been frequent, as shown by the use of such behavioral categories as 'speaking', 'reading', 'oral reading', 'writing', 'grammar' and 'vocabulary'.

Research of this kind has also emphasized language *use* in the classroom rather than language *acquisition*. Comparisons are made between two or more "methods" of instruction (e.g. audio-lingual and grammar translation) or two or more types of instruction (e.g. SL teaching and immersion education). If non-instructional language is introduced as baseline data, it tends to be NS-NS conversation, e.g. that in a specialized occupational setting for which the learners are supposedly being prepared by their language instruction. The agenda for such research involves an effort to make classroom discourse (either spoken or written) approximate target language *use* for these situations.

It is not my intention to criticize such work in any way. It is obviously extremely valuable for a variety of concerns in applied linguistics, such as syllabus design, materials development, teacher education, and the improvement of classroom instruction. I wish to suggest, however, that when the focus is SL *acquisition* in a classroom setting, both the categories and the baseline data need to change.

Assuming that some version of the input hypothesis is correct, indeed to test that hypothesis, the analysis will need to include the same kinds of categories as the work on NS-NNS conversation outside classrooms. NS-NNS (not NS-NS) conversation will also become a source of baseline data. NS-NNS conversation, after all, is the context known to be capable of producing fluent sequential bilinguals. Witness its success in this regard in many multilingual societies where indigenous languages, in which no instruction is available, are routinely acquired with near native proficiency by large groups of people, often illiterate or poorly educated.[1]

These considerations motivated a recent study of talk in ESL classrooms, and a comparison of this discourse with NS-NNS conversation in an informal, non-instructional setting. The findings from this research permit some initial generalizations to be made concerning the success of SL instruction in providing classroom learners with comprehensible input.

Long and Sato (in press) compared the classroom conversations of six ESL teachers and their elementary level students with 36 informal NS-NNs conversations outside classrooms in which the NNSs were at the same (elementary) level of ESL proficiency. The six ESL teachers were all professionally experienced. They were audio-taped teaching their regular students, mostly young adults, from a variety of first language backgrounds, a lesson of approximately 50 minutes not especially prepared for the research, the purpose of which was unknown to teachers or students. There was an average of about 20 students per class. The researchers were not present in the classroom during the recordings in order to make the data-collection as unobtrusive as possible. The six lessons, two in Honolulu, three in Los Angeles, and one in Philadelphia, varied in the type of material covered, but were all predominantly oral-aural and teacher-fronted. Impressionistically, they seemed to the researchers typical of much adult ESL teaching in the USA. None of the teachers adhered to any of the recent unconventional language teaching methods, such as Silent Way or Counseling-Learning. They based most of their oral work on textbook exercises, prepared dialogs and other teacher-made material of the sort common in audio-lingual, audio-visual and structural-situational classrooms.

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[1] Such high levels of success are not guaranteed. A simple diet of conversation with NSs can also result in the development of "pidginized" speech, as happened with Alberto (Schumann, 1978), or in fluent but deviant SL performance, as in the case of Wes (Schmidt, in press). Nevertheless, given modifications of the kind outlined earlier in this paper, NS-NNS conversation is known at least to facilitate SLA. It is, therefore, a relevant source of baseline data with which to compare discourse in SL classrooms. NS-NS conversation is relevant when target language use is at issue, but less so when the focus is acquisition.

The conversational data outside classrooms were obtained from an earlier study (Long, 1981c). The 36 NS subjects consisted of three groups, 12 experienced ESL teachers, 12 teachers of other subjects (literature, linguistics, music, etc.) and 12 NSs who were not teachers of any kind (university administrators, lawyers, counselors, etc.). All were college educated speakers of a standard variety of American English. The 36 NNSs were all young Japanese adults enrolled in the elementary level of a special ESL program at UCLA in the summer of 1979. Controlling for sex of speaker and interlocutor and for the years of prior foreigner talk experience of the NSs, dyads were formed by random assignment such that there were an equal number of same-sex and cross-sex pairings. All subjects were meeting for the first time for the purpose of the study, which was unknown to them. Conversations took place in the researcher's office on the UCLA campus. Subjects were introduced by first name and asked to have a conversation of five minutes about anything they liked. The investigator then left the room. Subjects knew that their conversations were being tape-recorded.

Long and Sato (in press) coded transcripts of the ESL lessons and the 36 informal NS-NNS conversations for nine measures of input and interaction modifications. They then compared these results for statistically significant differences between the two corpora. For the purposes of this paper, measures were also obtained on three additional features of conversational structure: comprehension checks, clarification requests and confirmation checks. All statistical analyses for these 12 measures were performed using simple or contingency chi-square tests, with Yates' correction for a two-way chi-square design with one degree of freedom where needed, with the exception of those for the morphology data, for which Spearman rank order correlation coefficients were calculated (oc = .05 in all cases). For reasons of space, the results are merely summarized here. (For further details, see Long, 1981c and Long and Sato, in press.)

As had been predicted in the original study, NS speech and the interactional structure of NS-NNS conversation in the two corpora differed greatly.

1. ESL teachers used significantly more display than referential questions ($\chi^2 = 199.35$, $p < .0005$).
2. ESL teachers used significantly more display questions than did NSs addressing NNSs outside classrooms ($\chi^2 = 1{,}859{,}131.70$, $p < .0005$). In fact, display questions were virtually unknown in the informal NS-NNS conversations (2 out of a total of 1567 questions in T-units).
3. ESL teachers used significantly fewer referential questions than did NSs addressing NNSs outside classrooms ($\chi^2 = 844.01$, $p < .0005$).
4. In T-units in the two corpora, the frequencies of questions, statements and imperatives differed significantly ($\chi^2 = 308.10$, $p < .0005$), with ESL teachers using fewer questions than the NSs outside classrooms (35% compared with 66%), more statements (54% compared with 33%) and more imperatives (11% compared with 1%).
5. ESL teachers' speech was significantly more oriented to the "here and now", as measured by the relative frequencies of verbs marked temporally for present and non-present reference ($\chi^2 = 4, 109.87$, $p < .0005$).
6. ESL teachers' speech was significantly more oriented to the "here and now" than was the speech of the NSs in the informal NS-NNS conversations ($\chi^2 = 25.58$, $p < .001$).
7. The rank order of nine grammatical morphemes in the six ESL teachers' speech correlated positively with the order of the same items in the speech of the 36 NSs addressing NNSs outside classrooms (rho = .77, $p < .005$).
8. The rank order of the nine morphemes in teachers' speech was not significantly related to Krashen's (1977) "average order" for the accurate appearance of those items in the speech of ESL acquirers (rho = .46, $p > .05$, NS).
9. The relationship between the orders for the nine morphemes in the ESL teachers' speech and Krashen's "average order" for accurate production (.46) was weaker than the relationship between the orders for the nine morphemes in the NS speech to NNSs outside classrooms and Krashen's order (.77).
10. ESL teachers used a significantly greater number of comprehension checks than did NSs addressing NNSs outside classrooms ($\chi^2 = 102.88$, $p < .001$).
11. ESL teachers used fewer clarification requests than did NSs addressing NNSs outside classrooms, but the difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 0.89$, $p > .50$, NS).
12. ESL teachers used significantly fewer confirmation checks than did NSs addressing NNSs outside classrooms ($\chi^2 = 27.79$, $p < .001$).

Much could be said about these results, but again for reasons of space, I will confine myself to a few general points. (The interested reader is referred to Long and Sato, in press, for more detailed discussion.)

Perhaps the most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the findings from this study is that, insofaras they are representative of at least *elementary* level ESL instruction, the SL classroom offers very little opportunity to the learner to communicate in the target language or to hear it used for communicative purposes by others. In these ESL lessons, at least, the main source of communicative language use for the students was the teachers' use of 224 imperatives, chiefly for classroom management, e.g.

T: Give me the present perfect

and for disciplinary matters, e.g.

T: Sit down, Maria

As the other results show, most of what the teachers said was, in Paulston's (1974) terms, "meaningful", i.e. contextually relevant, but not "communicative", i.e. bearing information unknown to the hearer.

Display, or what Mehan (1979) calls "known information" questions, predominate. Thus, the six teachers asked 476 questions of the following kind:

T: Are you a student?

and

T: Is the clock on the wall?

Only 128 questions were referential, i.e. asked the student to provide unknown information, e.g.

T: What's the matter?

or

T: Why didn't she come to class?

In NS-NNS conversation outside the classroom, on the other hand, there were only two instances of display questions, both uttered by one NS at the beginning of an encounter when she wished to be sure the NNS had heard her name correctly when the investigator had introduced them. In contrast, there were 999 referential questions.

Display questions are a good indication that we are dealing with what Barnes (1976) calls the "transmission model" of education, in which a "knower" imparts knowledge to those who do not know. The students are asked to display knowledge that the teacher already possesses, and often remarkably trivial knowledge at that. In other words, there is little two-way exchange of information.

The data on comprehension checks and confirmation checks tell the same story. A speaker uses a comprehension check to find out if the *interlocutor* understands something, e.g.

T: Do you understand?

Confirmation checks, on the other hand, are used to ascertain whether the *speaker* has heard or understood something the interlocutor has said, e.g.

S: I went /ny/

T: You went to New York?

or

S: I wan one job

T: You're looking for work?

Comprehension checks, therefore, will be more frequent when the major flow of information is from teacher to student, from NS to NNS; confirmation checks will be more frequent when information is also passing in the other direction. In this study, the six ESL teachers used significantly more comprehension checks and significantly fewer confirmation checks than the NSs in informal NS-NNS conversations.

The data on clarification requests show the same general pattern. Clarification requests are used when the speaker (teacher or NS) wants help in understanding something the *interlocutor* (student or NNS) has said, e.g.

T: What do you mean?

Since ESL students, as has been shown, are seldom telling the teacher something unknown to him or her, we would expect there to be fewer clarification requests in the ESL corpus. This is indeed what was found, although the difference was not statistically significant. The lack of a statistically significant difference is presumably due to the fact that confirmation checks were preferred when the need arose to remove ambiguity from the NNSs' speech, both inside and outside the classroom. As noted earlier, teachers did use significantly fewer of these than the NSs in the informal NS-NNS conversations.

The examples of typical display questions given earlier (*Are you a student*? and *Is the clock on the wall*?) reflect another feature of ESL classroom discourse in this study, namely its "here and now" orientation. Long (1980b) found the 16 NS-NNS dyads to employ significantly more verbs marked temporally for present and significantly fewer for non-present during informal conversation than the 16 NS-NS dyads ($\chi^2 = 11.58$, $p < .001$), a finding confirmed by Gaies (1981) in a replication of the Long (1981c) study. In Long (1981c), which provided the informal NS-NNS corpus being considered here, the 36 NS-NNS conversations were found to be more oriented to the here and now, again as measured by present and non-present tense marking, than the baseline NS-NS conversational data. The difference on that occasion, however, just failed to make the required level of significance ($\chi^2 = 3.33$, $p > .05$, NS). Now, in the study by Long and Sato (in press), the six ESL lessons were found to be even more present-oriented than the 36 NS-NNS conversations ($\chi^2 = 25.58$, $p <$ n.001). The here and now orientation of the teachers' classroom speech, therefore, is far greater than that in informal NS-NS conversation.

Teachers appear to rely on this here and now orientation as an important way in which to make their speech comprehensible to classroom learners. The relatively high frequencies of present tense morphology (third person *s*) and low frequencies of past tense morphology (regular and irregular past) that this brings was the main cause of the disturbed input frequency order for the nine grammatical morphemes in Krashen's (1977) "average order", and, hence, for the non-significant correlation between the two orders.

In summary, despite the lip service paid to the importance of communication in the classroom by much recent writing in the "methods" literature, to the extent that these lessons are typical at least of teaching at the elementary level, little seems to have changed. The data suggest that the emphasis is still on usage, not use (Widdowson, 1972), and that, in Paulston's terms, "meaningful", not "communicative" use of the target language is the norm. As shown, among other ways, by the data on display and referential questions, ESL classroom discourse in this study reflected something approaching a pure transmission model of education. Within quite tightly controlled structural limits, the focus is on the accuracy of students' speech rather than its truth value.

Some Implications for Classroom Teaching

Contrary to claims made by some researchers (e.g. Hale and Budar, 1970), there is a considerable amount of evidence to the effect that ESL instruction makes a positive contribution to SLA, both quantitatively and qualitatively. (For review, see Long, 1982, and Pica, in progress.) As argued in the early sections of this paper, however, there is also an increasing amount of evidence consistent with the input hypothesis. This stresses the importance for SLA of target language input made comprehensible to the learner chiefly through the negotiation for meaning involved in its use for communicative purposes. A concern arising from the data on NS-NNS conversation inside and outside classrooms must be that, at least at the elementary level, instruction in the SL *per se* is proceeding at the expense of SL communication and the provision of comprehensible input.

Now it might be argued that most of what the learners in these classes heard *was* comprehensible, as shown by their ability to respond appropriately. This was indeed the case. However, that the teachers' speech was comprehensible was due largely to the fact that the input itself was "impoverished" in various ways. In qualitative terms, what the ESL students heard consisted primarily of predigested sentences, structurally and lexically controlled, repetitious in the extreme, and with little or no communicative value. Input was comprehensible, in other words, mainly because it contained few linguistic surprises. Yet, it has been argued, it is these surprises that must occur if acquisition of new structures is to proceed. The input was limited quantitatively, too, in that relatively little was said. The drill-like nature of much of the instruction meant that short exchanges of a routine kind were repeated at the expense of extended discourse ranging over a wide variety of topics, as was found in the non-instructional conversations. As has been documented in a number of classroom studies, a common pattern consists of a teacher question (*Where's the clock*?), a student response (*It's on the wall*), and a teacher reaction/evaluation, often in the form of a repetition of the correct response (*The clock is on the wall*). The *same* exchange is then repeated, with minor variations, as the sentence patterns are "drilled" with other students. These three sentences are the total input for the class while this procedure is carried out.

Once again, it should be stressed that I am *not* advocating that we abandon our attempts to *teach* the language, including grammatical accuracy. Rather, it is a question of the relative emphasis given to accuracy over communicative effect that is at issue. I hope to have made a case for more attention and more class time being devoted to the latter, and close with a few suggestions for implementing such a change for those with the inclination to do so.

One basic difference between NS-NNS conversation in and out of classrooms indicated by the studies reported here is that classroom discourse is rarely motivated by a two-way exchange of information. However "phatic" much of the non-instructional conversation may be when the NNSs are beginners, NSs do not know the answer to questions like '*Where are you from*?' or '*Where do you live*?' when they ask them. And they ask each question only once. The same is not true of questions like '*Are you a student*?' or '*Is the clock on the wall*?', especially at the fifth time of asking. An easy way to remedy this is by ensuring that students enter classroom exchanges as *informational equals*. This can be achieved by use of tasks whose solution requires that students convey information that only they possess when the conversation begins.

A wide variety of such tasks exists in published form, although they are more often to be found in books not originally intended for language teaching (Plaister, 1982). Materials designed to improve the reader's IQ and/or problem-solving skills are a particularly rich source, as are many games whose sole purpose is entertainment. Many of these can easily be altered by a teacher to suit the age, cultural background and interests of specific groups of learners, and often give rise to ideas for new versions. Some care must be taken in their selection, however. It is not enough that one person has information the other lacks. Rather, both must have information that is unknown to be needed by the other. Thus, while both are simple and useful, there is a difference between having one person describe a picture so that a second (or a whole class) can reproduce it, on the one hand, and, on the other, having two people discover differences between two versions of a nearly identical picture that each has when each version contains features the other version lacks.

Changes in the kind of tasks carried out, such as these, basically the introduction of "two-way" tasks, but also, e.g. having students describe personal photographs rather than pictures in textbooks (suggested by

Charlene Sato), can lead to changes in the quality of classroom discourse. Principally, the need to convey and obtain unknown information will result in the negotiation for meaning characterized by modifications in the interactional structure of conversation as participants seek to make incoming speech comprehensible. That is, tasks of these kinds can bring about qualitative changes in classroom discourse.

Another concern expressed earlier was that the quantity of input needed to increase, too. Here, two suggestions can be made. First, teachers might like to consider using a wider variety of tasks rather than more frequent use of the same tasks, thus promoting a wider range of input. Second, having the tasks carried out by the students in small groups will multiply the amount of talk each student engages in individually. While the partial reduction in NS speech (or more native-like speech by a NNS teacher) this brings may yet turn out to be a problem, it is conceivable that this loss may be offset by the fact that what language the student hears is at least being negotiated (through his or her active participation in the small group conversation) to the appropriate level for his or her current SL competence. This is often not the case in "lockstep" conversation between teacher and whole class, where what the teacher says may be too easy for some, right for some, and too difficult for others. The use of potentially "communicative" language teaching materials in a lockstep (teacher to whole class) format may also be less guaranteed to achieve the qualitative changes of interest than their use in small groups of students. In one study, the number and variety of rhetorical acts, padagogic moves and social skills engaged in by students using such materials was found to be greater for students working in pairs than in a larger group with the teacher, (Long, Adams, McLean and Castaños, 1976).

Summary

This paper began with a brief review of empirical evidence consistent with the input hypothesis, which states that progress in SLA involves *understanding* linguistic input containing lexis and structures not in the acquirer's current repetoire. Various ways in which this understanding is achieved were then outlined, with special importance being attributed to the modification, not of the input *per se*, but of the interactional structure of conversation between NSs and NNSs. Research findings were then presented which suggest that modifications of this kind are only assured when the conversation involves a two-way exchange of information.

An explicit comparison of NS-NNS conversation in ESL instruction and in informal, non-instructional talk then isolated several basic differences between them. Greatest significance was attributed to the relative lack of modification of the interactional structure of conversation in classroom discourse, with a concomitant poverty, both quantitative and qualitative, in the input available to students. The use of "two-way" tasks in small group work was suggested as one way of introducing more communicative language use in the SL classroom, and in this way, more comprehensible input. While preserving the benefits to be obtained from a focus on formal accuracy in some phases of teaching, these changes are designed to make other phases approximate NS-NNS conversation outside classrooms, and thereby, if the input hypothesis is correct, to facilitate SLA in a classroom setting.

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IV. IN -- OR OUT OF -- THE CLASSROOM

ED228894

Being There

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Introduction

Learning a new language within the sociocultural context of the native speech community offers great advantages over attempting to master it from afar. Indeed, communicative competence is virtually impossible to achieve without a sense of familiarity with the complex system of cultural cues and values signalled by the spoken or written code. Contrary to the fears of many sojourners, this awareness can be achieved without losing one's own cultural identity, but gaining the insights needed to function confidently in two widely divergent cultures is never easy. Assisting sojourners in achieving cross-cultural understanding is equal in importance to teaching linguistic competence when the goal is academic or professional achievement in the host country. It is even more essential for permanent immigrants, whose very survival may depend upon bilingual and bicultural skills.

It is too often the tendency of ESL programs in the United States to ignore the vast resources offered by the host community for guided exploration by sojourners in their various fields of interest, and to offer instead the more comfortable tourist's view of America. This approach only serves to further insulate learners, thereby denying them the level of fluency accessible only through extended intercultural experience.

Being There

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Among the difficulties faced by academic sojourners in the United States, one nagging malaise seems to intrude repeatedly upon both contentment and success. The roots of this condition can be traced to unrealistic expectations, ill-conceived stereotypes, and sketchy cultural orientation. The major obstacle, however, is the continued absence of effective training intercultural communication during the course of the language acquisition process, thus allowing the initial culture shock phase to spiral into a more permanent pattern of alienation.

The situation of sojourners who exist almost exclusively in transplanted minicultures, much like Americans overseas, is not unlike that of colonists or campers, venturing into the host community only for support services and occasional touring or entertainment. This type of sojourner is unlikely to achieve fluency in the new language, and exists in a kind of cultural holding pattern, never quite able or willing to touch down.

It is not surprising that disoriented and confused ESL students in America gravitate toward each other rather than confront the forboding unknowns of mainstream America with its fluid values, its uncertain social mores, its speed, and its widespread psychic numbness. The dizzing mobility documented by Handlin (1972) and the increasingly apparent influence of high technology seem to have encouraged a lifestyle featuring anonymity and conformity rather than the cherished tradition of Rugged Individualism (Riesman, 1950).

While visitors often arrive in America quite willing to make friends with Americans, their enthusiasm may be quickly dampened as soon as the stranger realizes that stereotypes based on film images or second hand anecdotes do not fit current realities. Disappointed, the sojourner then retreats and either withdraws permanently or begins to draw new conclusions and develop new strategies for establishing contact with the culture more realistically perceived.

The closeness of the sojourner's relationship to the host culture depends upon a combination of factors. Some of these are individual traits grounded in personality and intellectual prowess, while others represent the receptiveness of the specific community together with the degree of realism present in the sojourner's goals. Richard W. Brislin has specified and defined typical traits and skills apparent in successful sojourners in *Cross-Cultural Encounters* (1976), and it is a list which could be very useful in the hands of everyone involved with ESL students, particularly counselors and selection committees.

Just as language competence has been described as, among other things, the ability to generate an infinite number of grammatical sentences (Chomsky, 1957), so might cultural competence be perceived as the ability to respond to and produce an infinite variety of mutually understood cultural cues appropriately. Whether complete mastery of these skills, which would result in totally bicultural individuals, is necessary or advisable for short term sojourners is debatable. However, it is important for language teachers to expand their area of expertise to include the acquisition of cross-cultural awareness. The process of learning a new language, whether here or there, involves exposure to new ways of perceiving the world at large. (Whorf, 1956).

Language programs should direct themselves toward the context in which the language will be used, whether it is the international business community, a hospital in Saudi Arabia, American academia, and/or the local Burger Chef. Amazingly, many programs fail to make use of immediately available resources in designing language instruction and alternatively delegate cultural orientation into a rather lesser important adjunct activity. Language teachers are too often obsessed with presenting a complex analysis of language, which tends to mystify students rather than help them fill the urgent need to "grasp the message the language bears" (Brooks, 1971).

The twin detriments of a society cool to outsiders and language programs that fail to seek lasting interaction with the society amount to a difficult situation for sojourners who seek involvement. Yet many do tually overcome these obstacles by combining energy, personality, persistence, and luck. In fact, one usually need not penetrate the society very deeply at all to discover that Americans are not as gruff and emotionless as they may appear. The complex character of the modern American is actually a bundle of paradoxes in which the desire for individual identity competes with the pressures to conform (Riesman, 1950). The touch outer shell is often mere protective coating for the sensitive soul nestled inside. Once sojourners learn the signals and strategies used for establishing contact with the individuals inside their fabricated public visages, meaningful relationships can begin to emerge. Earlier familiarity with these communicative patterns would only serve to hasten both language competence and intercultural awareness.

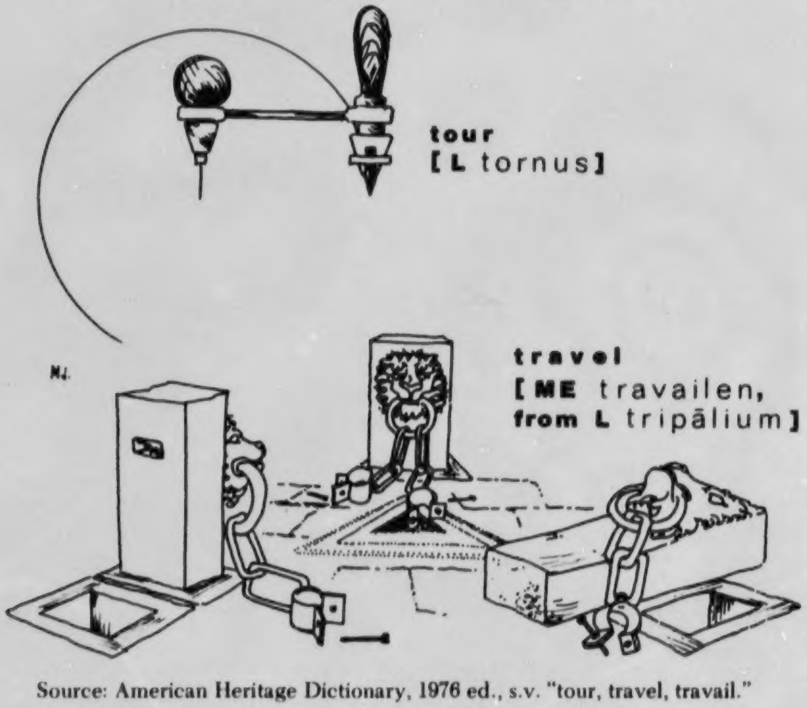
The average American moves fourteen times in his lifetime (Handlin, 1972) and as a result becomes something of an expert in adjusting to new situations. The settling-in process is estimated to take at least one full year (*Christian Science Monitor*, 1981), even for people who are fluent speakers and who share a similar, if not the same, world view as that perceived by members of the new community. The process known as networking, establishing an interrelated web of social and professional contacts, requires an active seeking out of individuals and organizations. The physical community, or neighborhood, is now less dominant as a social context as Americans have become more mobile. This means that newcomers cannot expect to have a social role in any new neighborhood, particularly an urban or suburban one, simply by having arrived there. Being in a new community involves a more active quest. As Vance Packard (1972) observes in *A Nation of Strangers*, "Great numbers of inhabitants feel unconnected to either people or places, and throughout much of the nation there is a breakdown of community living."

Social and professional networking has therefore become an essential survival skill, both for mobile Americans and for cross-cultural sojourners. The tendency to group into associations of all kinds and for all purposes is in itself typically American. Alexis de Tocqueville, on his famous 19th century sojourn to America, wrote, "The Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations . . . the Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found establishments for education, to send missionaries to the antipodes . . . ."

Most ESL students are not aware of the existence of the extensive lists of clubs and organizations both in academic communities and in the society at large. Nor do they comprehend the role these associations play in the lives of so many individuals. Even reserved professional organizations and serious special interest groups often function as arenas for social interaction.

Helping ESL sojourners devise networking plans in coordination with their own professional or recreational interests serves to establish sets of community contacts based on mature mutual interests. The sojourner is less a teenaged guest, as in the host family situation, and more an adult participant. In formulating inquiries and seeking out answers and opinions, the sojourner becomes something of an investigative reporter, lurking in the footsteps of such celebrated trans-cultural travelers as V.S. Naipaul and Paul Theroux.

DERIVATION OF TOUR AND TRAVEL



Source: American Heritage Dictionary, 1976 ed., s.v. "tour, travel, travail."

Historian Daniel Boorstin has traced the development of the modern tourist, as distinguished from the more intrepid traveler of yesteryear in *The Image: or What Happened to the American Dream* (1962). Whereas traveling is derived from Middle English *travailen* (to make a toilsome journey), touring suggests a turn or circuit, resulting in a less arduous but also less memorable experience. The rise of the package tour in the late 19th century made international travel accessible to more people, but also devitalized its nature. "Going by railroad," sniffed one sophisticated Englishman, "I do not consider as travelling at all; it is merely being sent to a place, and very little different from becoming a parcel." (quoted in Boorstin, 1962)

With package touring now a worldwide plague, it is to be expected that the average ESL student's self-perception is that of a passive consumer whose initial preference is to sit safely in language classes, be taken on field trips, and be hosted at parties for international students. However, languages are not learned that way, at least not very efficiently. It is no wonder that so many students despair that they have made so little progress after having faithfully completed their language programs.

Much of what goes on in many of these programs actually promotes alienation — excessive class hours, excessive homework assignments, pseudo-academic library research, in-group socializing — all of these keep students so busy that there is little time for real language practice. Instead of finding ways to help students venture out into the community, we yield to parental instincts and protect our charges from it. In doing so, we foster dependency when we should be promoting autonomy.

A more effective approach would be to explore ways to involve students at the various levels of language proficiency in the local community to whatever extent possible. Over the long term, it would be logical to develop this information, together with a system of intercultural training techniques, into a cultural awareness curriculum in coordination with the more traditional language competence hierarchy. In the interim, far more emphasis should be placed on developing strategies that encourage communication outside the language classroom.

Ultimately, the classroom could become a staging area where learners acquire skills, establish guidelines, and formulate plans. The target community might be academic, industrial, commercial, recreational, social, political, or any combination of these. In addition to simple observation, activities might include interviewing, opinion surveys, news gathering, graph or chart compilation, and background research. Following the fieldwork, learners regroup to report, share their experiences, and reflect. This very important phase provides them the opportunity to express their conclusions, extend their knowledge of both language and culture, and to summarize what they have learned. It is also prime time for the teacher to detect persistent language errors and plan lessons around them.

This direction in program and curriculum planning implies a much broader role for ESL teachers, many of whom are themselves veterans of successful sojourns. With the teacher as language counselor and cross-cultural mediator, the language-culture curriculum can both accelerate and improve the quality of a sojourner's experience. In short, it can make the difference between really being there and never having arrived.

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ED228895

Chicken or Egg? Communicative Methodology or Communicative Syllabus Design

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I would like to present today a perspective on language program planning and implementation developed in and conditioned by the environment in which I work. Since both European and North American traditions are present in Canada's capital city, it is as good a place as any from which to observe West meeting West. There is highly developed awareness there of contributions to applied linguistics made from both sides of the Atlantic. We are attempting to draw on these in preparing language programs for adult learners.

In observing the international scene from this vantage point, it seems to me that two strong currents of thought at present offer great potential for solving some of our problems. Second language program designers and teacher trainers are still faced with a vacuum left by the collapse of the concept of a universal method of instruction. However, we may turn to theories of second language acquisition on the one hand and to syllabus design theory on the other for new inspiration. Far from being incompatible, these two theoretical approaches are converging in what is becoming widely known as communicative language teaching (CLT).

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In current discussions of CLT, consensus on many matters has emerged. There is agreement first, that communicative competence is an appropriate goal at all levels and that it is not confined to extra-institutional settings. Second, it is agreed that since communicative competence is the goal of instruction, the message to be communicated is the point of departure in planning such programs, and not the language forms to be used in communicating.

Third, it is generally agreed that teaching should be 'learner-centered', although this is an area which is perhaps less simply dealt with than the others, since it comprises the notions of needs analysis or needs survey, of the autonomy of the learner, and of emphasis on the process of learning.

At the same time, there are some issues which are as yet unresolved. One of these which particularly needs attention is the question of what ought to constitute the appropriate starting point in the design and implementation of a second language program. One school of thought would have it be the development of communicative methodology; another upholds the notion that a syllabus should be mapped out in advance, taking into account various socio-cultural as well as linguistic factors.

Communicative Methodology

Turning to the first of these positions, I think it is important to note that several variants of it exist. One that is particularly seductive appears in the work of Tracy Terrell and Steven Krashen. While Terrell has stated that he did not mean to suggest that classroom activities should not be organized, syllabus design is simply not a major issue in his work. So far at least, he has been more interested in general pedagogical principles that would lead the learner to fluency.

Krashen of course has not been primarily concerned with methodology—but he certainly has expressed his views on classroom procedures. ". . . . The major function of the second language classroom" he writes, "is to provide intake for acquisition . . . one could also say that the major challenge facing the field of applied linguistics is to create materials and contexts that provide intake" (Krashen 1981:101). And intake has no linguistic syllabus.

Another variant of the methodology school of thought is to be found in the immersion model of bilingual education. It is continuing to grow in popularity and strength in Canada, and it is being adapted for adult learners. The question of syllabus design is taken care of not at all in terms of linguistic content, but in terms of other, regular classroom activities and other syllabuses. As far as methodology is concerned the learner is asked to concentrate on acquiring, not language, but 'techniques for language acquisition': for example inferencing for receptive competence—and for productive competence, improvising, using circumlocution, taking risks—what Stern calls 'coping techniques' (Stern 1980: 57-58).

These two approaches are 'naturalistic' versions of CLT, in which methodology is of far more interest than syllabus design, if indeed the latter figures at all.

There is another important position on the primacy of communicative methodology—one which does not merely ignore the classic procedures of functional syllabus design, but is opposed to it. This is a European contribution to applied linguistics. The pedagogical principles it embodies resemble fairly closely those I have referred to earlier. But they have been arrived at via a different route: a socio-linguistic, rather than a psycholinguistic one. Keith Johnson characterized it once as the "nature of communication" position. One version of it includes having the learner acquire the skill "to say things he has not been fully taught how to say, seeking circumlocutions [and] gaining the confidence to begin utterances in the knowledge that he may not have the linguistic resources to finish them". (Johnson 1980:4) Johnson calls this the 'deep end' strategy, and explains that it will not involve following a systematic syllabus.

The strongest version of the 'nature of communication' argument (developed by Chris Candlin, Michael Breen and their colleagues at the University of Lancaster) suggests that CLT requires new kinds of language teaching materials, designed with the objective of facilitating learners' natural abilities of interpretation, expression and negotiation (Candlin and Breen, 1979:8). In seeking to provide a suitable framework within which such abilities will develop, these linguists reject as debilitating any approach based upon the notion of functional syllabus design. The need for an organizing frame of reference in terms of learners' needs, interests and motivations is explicit in these works, but it seems to be of secondary importance, and is not felt to be the same thing at all as a functional syllabus of the sort that could be produced by using, for example, Munby's Communication Needs Processor (Munby, 1978).

We have here, then, approaches to be used to language programs which at the very lease put the question of an organizing framework or syllabus for linguistic content on the back burner, and at the most throw it out completely. But while this is theoretically most absorbing, it is a not very satisfactory state of affairs for those who are responsible for planning large-scale language teaching programs. We are not ready to abandon the role of language teaching to teachers of other subject matters. Nor are we ready only to provide linguistic swimming lessons to our learners in preparation for pushing them into the real-world sea of language data. I do not believe we are organized in such a way at the present time to give up entirely teaching language as language, nor is it certain that it would be the best thing to do. Furthermore, I do not think we have an adequate supply of teachers who are trained to work without some sort of framework. Evidently I do not want to suggest that we should go back to the concept of a universal method or over-all approach to be applied indiscriminately to whatever group of learners we may be working with. I believe that we must continue to seek for principles which will help us to organize our programs.

Let us return for a moment to the positions I have just outlined. They are all process-oriented, and all come, via different paths, to similar conclusions about language teaching: that is, that the teacher's concern should be primarily with the route, not the goal—with what Richterich now calls the "learner's trajectory." (Richterich, 1981) Along the way, the classic procedures of functional-notional syllabus design have become irrelevant—or marginally important at best. However, I want to suggest that from the perspective of the language program planner, while the trajectory is important, one cannot ignore the goal. At least for now, society expects us to be able to describe and justify our objectives in terms of language behavior at the point of exit from a course of courses. We are accountable. The problem thus becomes to accommodate both concerns: on the one hand, concern for appropriate and effective classroom interaction, and on the other, for a satisfactory outcome given the amount of time and the facilities available. Concern with communicative methodology as well as with syllabus design can aid us in this task; in planning ESL programs on communicative lines today, I believe that we are justified in applying theory from both these sources.

How do we do this? Let us note that from the methodology side of the fence, we gain two major contributions:

First, certain general principles governing classroom interaction which indicate how best to guide learners through the mass of linguistic data that confronts them.

Second, a wide range of possible methodology to explore. This includes: (a) ways of handling structures covertly instead of overtly; (b) teaching through the target language, i.e. using it as the medium of instruction rather than as the subject matter; (c) the possibility of using authentic samples of language much more effectively; and (d) a large inventory of 'communicative' techniques—the simulations, games and role-plays which formed the initial response to the methodology issue, as well as newer techniques and materials which foster problem-solving and inferencing abilities.

Regarding syllabus design itself, it should be recognized that a second phase or era has recently been entered. This is the era of the more communicatively oriented syllabus; it follows that of the strictly functional-notional one. It requires analysis of the learning and teaching situation concurrently with—even prior to—that of the target language situation. Syllabus specifications are now much less rigid, more open, than before. They thus permit generalization of the language needs and desires of the learners for whom one is accountable, and at the same time allow for individualization. Those language functions and notions and forms which are seen to be most important will be treated or exercised variously through materials and techniques made available to us by those working in the area of communicative materials design. The specification of content for a communicative syllabus will serve mainly to identify areas which are of interest to the learners, and in which they need to be able at least to float, if not to swim vigorously.

By designing a syllabus, that is by limiting the content of a course, I do not mean designing or limiting the language to be used so as to produce a linguistic robot. But since in all second language teaching situations, time is a constraint, it is necessary to pay attention to problems of management: that is, how to cope with defining content and setting standards, as well as with classroom interaction. A communicative syllabus design is an instrument to be used to coordinate all these aspects of language teaching. As such, it should not be rigid, but flexible; not closed, but open-ended; and not static, but subject to constant revision as a result of feedback from the classroom.

Communicative Syllabus Types

I have discussed elsewhere (Yalden, 1982) a major obstacle that has stood in the way of those who want to design communicative syllabuses: that is, the problem of closing the gap between theory and classroom practice. The division of the design of a communicative syllabus into two phases appears to clear up some of the difficulties surrounding this transition. The first phase remains the preparation of syllabus specifications, comprising a greater or a lesser number of components as the situation dictates. This is the stage at which one can 'do a modified Munby'—by this, I mean simply to ask oneself in how many of Munby's categories is information available and/or useful in a particular instance; and then produce a description of the language teaching situation—its learners, goals and classroom environment, as well as one of the target language situation as far as possible.

With this information in hand, the next phase should be the choice of a communicative syllabus type, and preparation of appropriate program handbooks of a pedagogical nature. Several of these syllabus types have now been proposed for use in implementing communicative language programs, in ESL and in other languages. (Discussions of possible models began in Alexander 1976, has continued in Müller, 1980, Johnson, 1982, and Yalden, forthcoming.) Here are some of the proposed solutions:

(a) A model in which functional teaching is grafted on to a structural core (Brumfit 1980);

(b) A model which involves changing emphasis or focus from one aspect of language to another as time progresses (Allen 1980);

(c) A proportional model, in which topics or specific notions are used as a framework for a gradual change of proportion in the time devoted to language form on the one hand and language function and discourse structure on the other—or vice versa, depending on the underlying theory of second language acquisition and learning (Yalden, 1982);

(d) The entirely functional models used in EST and EAP designed for learners who have to carry out predictable roles—air traffic controllers for example, or students of petrochemical engineering. In these models teaching tasks mirror terminal objectives, as it were.

(e) We have also heard at this conference from Dr. Prabhu about his procedural model in which tasks are designed to produce general language competence—this has been one of the most interesting presentations at TESOL this year in CLT. (See also Johnson, 1982:135-144.)

(f) There is also the task-based model in which tasks are designed to foster strategies for learning and/or communication. (e.g. Candlin and Breen, 1979)

(g) Finally, there is the model in which some other subject matter provides a non-linguistic syllabus, as in Krashen's work, and in French immersion programs.

A large range—and more, no doubt to come. How does one decide which to incorporate into the design for a given program?

Criteria for Selection

Many of the criteria that have to be applied in selecting one or another model—or in creating new ones—come from the area of language policy. Government policy frequently has a profound effect on what language is taught to whom and for what purpose. It also pretty clearly affects funding. Thus, one might have to adopt a functional model if time were short, and the teaching institution bound by contract. On the other hand, though language policy will affect the amount of time available for ESL teaching in the schools, such teaching is often stretched out over a number of years, and in a case like this, a proportional or a variable focus model might be appropriate.

The age, educational background and expectations of learners will also impose constraints on choice of syllabus type. It is true of course that we still have a selling job to do in the matter of communicative activities, and it may be difficult to wean certain learners away from a structural element in an ESL course; but others react very well to an entirely communicative curriculum, whether or not they have been used to structural teaching earlier.

Theoretical criteria are naturally of great importance. Those responsible for planning CLT programs will try as much as possible to adopt procedures which are consistent with the theories to which they subscribe. Fortunately, there is fairly wide consensus on a number of important and basic matters, so that it appears that we can now enter a period during which some empirical research can be undertaken to see what kinds of syllabus design work best in which circumstances.

In this respect, one possible avenue is to divide a course or program into segments of varying lengths, each of which represents different orientations. It would be possible, for example, to begin an ESL program for foreign students in a university setting with a short structural segment, if their knowledge of English were at a low level, then continue to a longer segment designed along proportional lines. A concluding segment would then be devoted to ESP concerns and could be given concurrently with courses in the learners' own academic disciplines. I am not claiming here that this is necessarily the best, or even a desirable design—though it has worked very well for us—but merely wish to point out that in its entirety, such a course of studies could be said to represent CLT. I believe that it will take more experimentation to arrive at the right degree of adjustment for each course type, but syllabus design now permits this, without necessarily committing teachers to a single methodology for the duration of the whole program. In other words, the segmented syllabus offers a pragmatic solution until further theoretical advances are made, and may well help in achieving new insights.

Communicative Frameworks

In the second phase of the design process there are various approaches to the preparation of pedagogical handbooks. One I have developed consists in setting objectives for a unit of work in terms of topics and functions. A choice of suitable classroom techniques and tasks to exploit relevant language samples is provided, together with indications of important or necessary language forms. It is then up to the teacher, with ideally—the aid of the learner or learners to negotiate concerning which of the activities are to be used on a given day. The same unit can be used cyclically, or 'revisited', on several occasions, to increase the range of exponents associated with a given topic and given functions. Using these procedures, a great variety of pedagogical syllabuses or handbooks can be produced, in which there is evidently room for a number of teaching techniques, depending on the circumstances. I expect to see these handbooks replace the traditional textbooks to a large extent.

Conclusions

Much remains to be accomplished in needs analysis, in the analysis of discourse, in the study of communicative competence and its components, and in the study of second language acquisition itself. I believe that these communicative syllabuses or frameworks offer the possibility of maximum flexibility at a time when it is needed, together with the control required to permit further evaluation of teaching techniques—whether traditional, communicative or "hands-off". To use a horticultural image, they might be regarded as trellises provided in order to support a young plant as it develops to maturity—at which point the trellis is obscured by the density and complexity of the growth. I am tempted to extend this metaphor and to talk about different kinds of methodology as though they were different kinds of fertilizer—but I won't, for fear of sounding like Peter Sellers in the role of Chauncy Gardiner. Instead, I will return to my title. I am sure you will have concluded that I think a communicative framework is the necessary starting point, but that once the classroom interaction starts, it is in fact hard to tell which comes first, the chicken or the egg.

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The Communicative Classroom: Tasks, Materials, Methodology

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It is increasingly the case that the term "communicative" is affixed to describe the approach to second language learning an L2 learning program espouses. Beyond broad outlines, however, there exists a wide divergence of practice within such programs. What this workshop report proposes is an analysis of what, in our experience, makes a learning program "communicative". In addition to identifying the characteristics of a communicative program, implications are drawn regarding methodology, materials and tasks. It is the interplay of these components which informs the daily rhythm of the classroom.

What characterizes a communicative program is not always immediately obvious. The notion implies that the language in the classroom be relevant, related to the concerns of everyday life and presented in appropriate situations. The social uses and usage of language are highlighted. However, the program which is based solely on this aspect of a communicative approach still must contend with artificiality in the classroom. Simulating "real" social situations in the classroom falls short of truly authentic exchange.

The question of what constitutes a communicative program was first posed in a specific context: creating a curriculum to meet the learners' needs in our program.* The conclusion we reached in expanding the concept of a communicative approach was the result of experience in our program as well as of theory we examined. As we began to contemplate the process of transforming the program, we turned to the guidelines of a notional-functional syllabus. The experience of creating a program within a notional-functional framework culminated in the realization that: 1) although the basis differed, the net result was a structural approach to language, and 2) subject matter was only marginally less trivial. There then followed a period of lengthy discussions in which we examined the successes of our on-going

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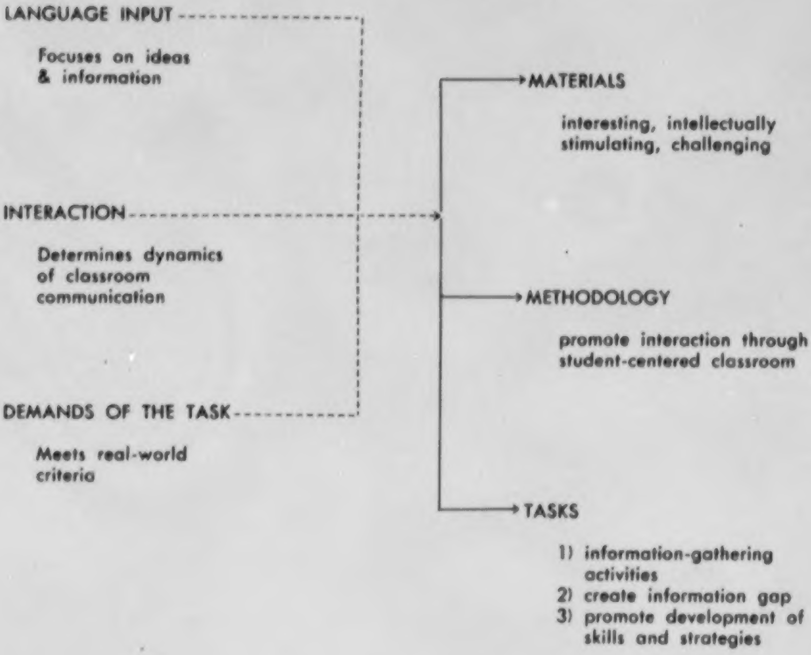
*The communicative program on which our experience is based is at the Continuing Education Language Institute (C.E.L.I.) of Concordia University in Montreal.

program. What materials and methodology had we deemed successful in meeting the challenge of the classroom? Within these discussions the concepts of what characterizes a communicative program crystallized. This process resulted in the realization that truly authentic communication in the classroom required the careful design of the learning environment.

The learning environment is the arena wherein a complex pattern of relationships is woven to create a context within which exchange occurs. That pattern derives from the relationships among language input, the process of interaction and the demands of the task (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1
CHARACTERISTICS OF A COMMUNICATIVE CLASSROOM


LANGUAGE INPUT
Focuses on ideas & information
INTERACTION
Determines dynamics of classroom communication
DEMANDS OF THE TASK
Meets real-world criteria
MATERIALS
interesting, intellectually stimulating, challenging
METHODOLOGY
promote interaction through student-centered classroom
TASKS
1) information-gathering activities
2) create information gap
3) promote development of skills and strategies

Input

One of the most important requirements for authentic communication in the classroom is input of ideas and information which the students can exchange and discuss. This input may come from a variety of reading and listening sources. Regardless of the source, input must be intellectually stimulating, interesting and relevant to the learners. It should also be challenging and of sufficient complexity that the learner is expanding the limits of his/her capacity to understand. These criteria of a rich learning environment are fundamental to a communicative program.

Interaction

Language learning is an interactive process. It is posited that in this process the learner formulates, confirms and disconfirms hypotheses about the structure and meaning of the language s/he is trying to learn. Interaction also refers to the dynamics that can be structured in a second language classroom. In a student-centered classroom interaction is accomplished by structuring work in small groups or in pairs. As mentioned in the previous section, the student receives rich and varied input. In addition, he/she needs to discuss this input. In the discussion process, the learner gradually acquires language. The demands of the task within groups affect their success in meeting real-world criteria. For this reason, the characteristics of communicative tasks have to be carefully considered.

Demands of the Task

Tasks provide the opportunity for interaction within the structure of small groups of pairs. They provide a focal point around which learners concentrate. Tasks for a communicative program are multi-leveled. They can be designed so that the learner is able both to build the repertoire of skills and strategies needed to manage challenging input and to meet the real-world criteria of authentic communication. Tasks establish a context of meaning and purpose within which interaction takes place.

Providing stimulating and challenging input, fostering interaction and presenting real-world demands govern the establishment of a learning environment in our program. These provide directions for maintaining continuity throughout the program and, in practice, a basis for methodology: the interplay of materials and tasks in the student-centered classroom. In the following section on methodology a few of the ways in which authentic materials are exploited through the design of tasks will be explored.

Methodology: Materials and Tasks

Our methodology provides opportunities for authentic communication by providing rich and varied information input and by the way in which tasks are structured. There are many functions which communication in the real world serves. However, our program focuses on the communicative purpose of exchanging information. In the real world we often seek out information we do not have at our disposal and share this information in communicative exchange. Therefore, the focus in the classroom is on information—our students often learn new things about the world and the tasks facilitate information gathering and sharing.

The materials that most interest our students are intellectually stimulating and focus on topics of current, almost universal interest—topics pertaining to ecology, technology and psychology. We have found that our best materials are drawn from authentic sources. An important characteristic of authentic sources is that the language of the material is not overly manipulated and simplified, either grammatically or lexically. This is crucial because it ensures that the complexity of the classroom environment matches the complexity our students face in encountering the challenge of language outside the classroom.

Authentic sources include current media, newspapers, magazines, films and current events programs from radio and television. Especially useful are first language texts, particularly those written for remedial reading programs and those which focus on organization and the development of learning skills.

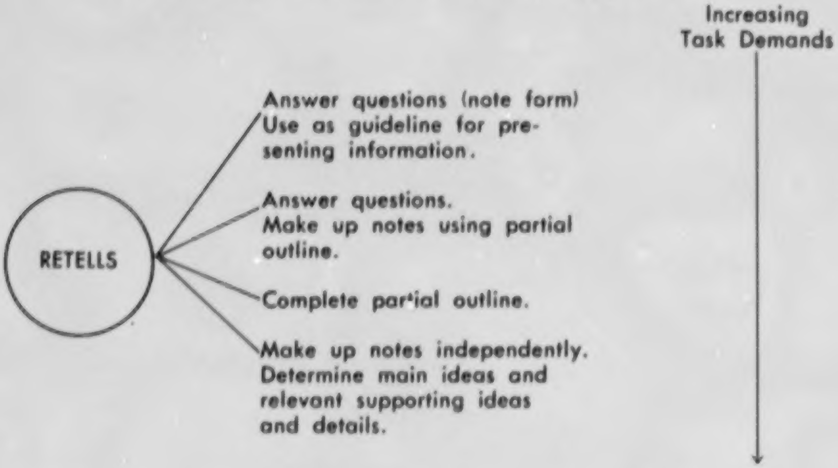
However, interesting materials are only a beginning. They furnish the information needs of the classroom. In order to satisfy the demands of real-world criteria in promoting language learning, the information needs to be presented and exploited carefully. This is accomplished by designing tasks in which an information gap has been created. An information gap may be created in two ways. The first is in making different input available to the students. The second is in providing challenging input, input which is slightly beyond the intake capacity of the students, and encouraging them to pool their information. The example which follows illustrates one task which lends itself to exploring differences in information input—retells. Retells involve providing different groups of students with different information. This presents an authentic situation for sharing and exchanging information (See Appendix A for summary of methodology). This task is taken from a beginner's class—level 2 of our program. The task is designed around two texts (see Appendix B)—both of which are thematically related to a unit of activities about Monreal. Thematic unity characterizes the design of input throughout our entire program. It allows the students to build a rich network of vocabulary and structures. It also allows the level of complexity to be increased as the students become more familiar with the lexicon. Thematic unity provides a context for recycling information.

Within the context of the theme, students are presented with one of these two texts and form pairs or small groups of three to complete the question task (see Appendix B). The students proceed through the texts and complete the related task, looking for specific information. In order to successfully negotiate this type of task, in order to cope with the complexity of the input, the students need to develop certain skills and strategies for handling information. An additional purpose of the task, therefore, is to provide an opportunity to develop these. Within this task the students are learning two skills: to skim for specific information, and to put down information in note form. The primary concern is for accuracy of information rather than accuracy of form.

The students are encouraged to verify the accuracy of their information with others in their group. In this verification process, the discussion offers students the first opportunity to recycle information. The focus is on getting the necessary information across and on understanding the information the others have elicited. The next stage of the task involves reformulating groups to include others with different information and exchanging information *using their notes.* This provides a second opportunity to recycle information and to further coalesce all available information to accomplish a third stage of the task which might focus on the skill of summary writing.

As was first mentioned this task is taken from a beginners class. Its structure is decided by taking into consideration the level of language difficulty as well as the students abilities' in particular skills and strength of their strategies for processing and coping with complex material. This task could be made simpler by a buildup of pre-activities and predictive exercises. The purpose of these would be to strengthen their grasp of language, processing skills and strategies, and to activate prior knowledge. This task can be made more difficult by asking students to take notes from the text without questions (see Figure 2). Or at an even more difficult level, the text may be used as listening input, again having students take notes from two different taped sources.

FIGURE 2
RETELLS: Increasing and Decreasing the Complexity of the Task


Increasing
Task Demands
RETELLS
Answer questions (note form)
Use as guideline for presenting information.
Answer questions.
Make up notes using partial outline.
Complete partial outline.
Make up notes independently.
Determine main ideas and relevant supporting ideas and details.

The second way in which an information gap may be created is to provide undifferentiated input at a sufficient level of challenge so that students must rely on each other to create an information pool to meet the demands of the task. One task which exemplifies this approach is based on listening passages such as that which is included in Appendix C. This listening passage is taken from the fourth level of our program. Again, it was part of a thematic unit which included other readings and listening passages. The first stage of this task involves a prediction pre-activity. Students are given a list of questions and in groups they predict the T/F answers based on their collective information. Once again, the purpose of this type of activity is to spark interest and activate prior knowledge. Through this activity students are encouraged to build a semantic network of related vocabulary and structures, specific to the topic.

The listening passage which follows this activity is challenging for students at this level. At this level of difficulty one of the features of the task is to concentrate on developing strategies to cope with complexity. The notion of strategies includes a number of things such as: guessing from context, chunking information properly, focusing on what you can understand from the text, predicting from prior knowledge, reading with specific questions in mind. These are tools which equip the learner to process information quickly, to acquire as much as s/he can. The students are listening for the specific information which will answer the prediction questions. After the passage is read and individuals have completed worksheet questions, students verify information for their answers in small groups. Again the level of difficulty for this task may be increased simply by asking students to take notes according to a structured outline provided by the teacher (see Appendix C) or to take notes and structure the outline as well.

An important factor to be taken into consideration for these tasks is teacher expectation. Given the complexity of language input and the demands of the tasks, the teacher would be attending to the individual's progressive growth in the ability to exchange information. In addition, skills and strategies will grow in interaction within the small groups.

Within the context of a communicative program, the teacher serves a multi-faceted role. The role of the teacher in a learner centered classroom is to select appropriate materials, to foster the interaction, and to serve as a resource person for information and language. The teacher focuses on ideas in interaction with the learners. In the flow of discussion, the focus on language form is not lost but arises rather naturally out of the learner's need to know (or the teacher's desire to call attention to) some point.

The development of our communicative program has been for us a gradual process. That process has culminated in distilling those principles and factors which have been delineated. Although the tasks are typical of the type in the program, the variety of tasks used throughout the program has not been attempted in this report. The type of task, the content, the focus on a particular skill or strategy is governed by the on-going dynamic of the class. It is in this way that the evolving discernment of communicative principles and their development in the classroom continues.

APPENDIX A

Methodology For Retells

Give text A to half the class; text B to the other half.

Groups of Three

Students with the same text work together.

1. Read text.
2. Answer questions.[*]
   —Check with others in group.
3. Make up notes.[**]
   —Discuss main ideas and relevant supporting ideas and details.

Pairs

A student with text A gets together with a student with text B.

1. Student with text A
   —explains text using *notes only*.

   Student with text B
   —listens and jots down notes.
   —seeks clarification and asks for additional information as need arises.
2. Student with text A[***]
   —asks partner questions to see if s/he has understood.
3. Student with text B
   —presents.

   Student with text A
   —listens and takes notes.

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[*] Optional. Usually only for beginners; used as a means of decreasing the complexity of the task.

[**] At the beginners level students sometimes omit this step. Instead, they use their worksheets (with answers jotted down in note-form) as the basis for explaining their texts and as an aid to memory.

[***] Optional. Questions serve as a check both for the presenters (to let them know whether or not they have been successful in transmitting the message) and their partners (to let them know whether or not they have taken down the information accurately). The questions can be prepared beforehand and written down or made up on the spot.

APPENDIX B

St. Helen's Island

For many years Canada was a British colony. In 1867 Canada separated from Britain and became an independent country. In 1967 Canada celebrated its centennial—it was 100 years old! People were very happy and excited. They planned big celebrations all over the country to celebrate Canada's birthday.

The biggest celebration—Expo '67—was in Montreal on St. Helen's Island. St. Helen's Island is located in the St. Lawrence River. It is not far from the island of Montreal. It is a huge park. It is very beautiful. It is beside the water.

To help Canada celebrate its birthday, the Canadian government invited other countries to build pavillions and restaurants on St. Helen's Island. Over 50 countries built pavillions there—France, China, Russia, England, Morocco, Egypt, the United States and many more. Inside the pavillion each country showed interesting displays. Some countries also showed films. Expo' 67 was open from July to September 1967. Millions of people came to visit St. Helen's Island.

When Expo '67 ended, many of the pavillions were destroyed. A few were not. If you go to Saint Helen's Island today, you can still see them. One pavillion which was not destroyed was the American Pavillion. Two years ago, however, there was a fire in this pavillion. The pavillion was made of a plastic which burned very easily. Within 10 minutes it had burned to the ground. Today, all that remains of the American pavillion is the black iron frame.

St. Helen's Island

Write down answers in note form. (Just the most important information.)

1. Why was 1967 an important year for Canadians?

2. What did Canadians do in 1967?

3. Where was the biggest celebration?

4. Describe St. Helen's Island. Where was it located?

5. Which countries built pavillions on the island? Why?

6. Was Expo '67 successful?

7. What happened to the pavillions when Expo '67 ended?

8. What happened to the American pavillion? Why?

Appendix B (cont.)

The Olympic Standium

In July 1976 the Olympic Summer Games were held in Montreal. For these Games, Montreal built a new Olympic stadium. The stadium was designed by a French architect, Roger Taillebert. The architecture is very new and modern. From a distance the stadium looks like a big fat mushroom. Workers used thousands of tons of concrete to make it. It cost millions of dollars to build.

Today, there is one big problem with the Olympic Stadium. It isn't finished. The stadium is supposed to have a roof but after five years, it still doesn't have one. Before the Olympic Games, the workers who were supposed to build the roof went on strike. They refused to work. They wanted more money. The government refused to give them more. After the Olympic Games, the government had a lot of economic problems. Because of inflation, the roof became more and more expensive. The government now wants to build a different kind of roof which is less expensive but not as beautiful. The government can't decide what to do. Meanwhile, the stadium remains without a roof!

The Olympic Stadium

Write down answers in note form. (Just the most important information.)

1. Why did Montreal build the Olympic Stadium?

2. Who was the architect? What was his nationality?

3. Describe the Olympic Stadium.

4. What is the problem with the Olympic Stadium?

5. Why is there a problem?

   —before the Games

   —after the Games

APPENDIX C

Phobias

Prediction True/False

According to your knowledge about phobias, decide whether the following statements are TRUE or FALSE.

1. ______ Some people are afraid of purple.
2. ______ More than 30 million Americans suffer from phobias.

Appendix C (cont.)

3. ______ Pterygophobia is the fear of heights.
4. ______ Agoraphobia is the most common type of phobia.
5. ______ Quick heart beat and perspiration are two symptoms of phobias.
6. ______ All phobias are caused by bad experiences.
7. ______ Phobias can be inherited.
8. ______ When a mother has a phobia, her child is likely to develop the same phobia.
9. ______ There are conflicting beliefs on how to treat phobias.

APPENDIX C

Phobiacs: Paralyzed by Fear

Fear of feathers, fear of telephones, fear of rain, fear of the color purple, fear of fear—the list is almost endless.

Up to 20 million Americans may suffer from phobias—irrational, disproportionate fears—of one kind or another.

One very usual example is fear of airplanes (pterygophobia). Millions of people feel faint at the mere thought of one.

The most common of all phobias, perhaps affecting two-thirds of all phobiacs seeking treatment, is agoraphobia, which translates as "fear of the marketplace." It is actually a composite, a fear of almost any object or situation outside the safety of the home. Some agoraphobiacs virtually make prisoners of themselves.

What causes these seemingly groundless fears—the faintness, the pounding heart, the sweaty palms?

One theory is that a phobia arises out of a previous traumatic experience. Thus, for example, a child who was locked in a closet develops claustrophobia or fear of closed spaces. Or the phobia may be symbolic. Fear of dogs may represent fear of a tyrannical father.

Yet a third explanation is that phobias are "learned." A child whose mother cringes at the sound of thunder develops a phobia about storms. Or a child hearing people express fear of tigers develops a tiger phobia, without ever having seen one.

Ideas differ about treatment. Some advocate facing up to the feared object until fear subsides. Others try to uncover the root of the fear and deal with that.

*Adapted from Science Digest

Phobiacs: Paralyzed by Fear*
(for use during 2nd reading)

Phobias

Main Ideas	Supporting Details
1. Different phobias	
2. Symptoms	
3. Theories	
4. Treatments	

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The Foreign Teaching Assistant and the Culture of the American University Class

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Introduction

When given the task of teaching an undergraduate section, foreign graduate students often find themselves in a bewildering and sometimes frightening situation. In most cases, these students have had no prior teaching experience and are faced with students whose expectations, sensitivities, worries and needs differ significantly from those encountered in the home country. Trained in autocratic systems where personal contact between professor and student is the exception rather than the norm, they are ill-prepared for the constant and often intense interaction between teacher and student found in the American discussion section, problem-set session, laboratory, or review class. Ironically, as teaching assistants (TAs), these graduate students will rarely be called upon to lecture, a task which many could handle adequately. Instead, they must lead discussions, answer questions, correct student work, criticize and advise—all acts which call for highly developed communication skills, and perhaps more important, an understanding of how the American undergraduate thinks, feels and behaves. Obviously, English language training at a very high level with emphasis on the vocabulary of the students' disciplines, is a necessary prerequisite. Of course, prospective TAs should be carefully screened by English teachers as well as by members of their own fields and given remedial help when necessary. But unless the foreign TA has an understanding of the dynamics of the American university class, his or her chances for success are severely limited.

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Fortunately, a short course, combining a series of mini-lectures and role-plays (with the use of video-tape where available), can provide foreign TAs with the insights necessary to make their adjustment considerably easier. A course can be done in as little as eight hours of class time—two hour blocks work well—or, if time permits, can be expanded to about twenty hours in order to include more pointers about pedagogy in general.

This course could easily be coordinated with (or even combined with) advanced English courses dealing with public speaking, pronounciation, intonation, and discussion leading skills.

What goes on in an American class needs to be demystified and made understandable in a way that will help the TA act and react intelligently and confidently. In a course of the type suggested, certain topics are essential: 1. the role of the teacher in the American university; 2. student types; 3. types of classes; 4. class time; 5. the all important first day of class; and 6. standards of politeness, especially how to criticize. If time permits, more typically pedagogical themes such as expectations relating to grading, discipline problems, and conferences with students can be added. The discussion should be kept non-technical; concepts from educational theory should be presented shorn of jargon. Typologies, diagrams and other visual aides should be used extensively. Effective uses can be made of "catch phrases," labeling, and slogans in order to help the TA quickly grasp aspects of classroom dynamics.

The Role of the Teacher

A logical place to start the course is the American college teacher's role as it is perceived by both the teacher and the students. How this topic is taught will depend, in part, with the instructor's own views. However, there are some generalizations that would fit most successful teachers. First of all, the teacher is the authority figure and creator of order in the classroom. This is as true in American classrooms as in the authoritarian arrangements many foreign students are used to. However, the American teacher exercises this control not so much by dint of title and position as by force of personality. The American teacher is responsible for motivating students and creating a climate that will promote learning. While teaching styles vary widely, certain aspects of the teacher role remain constant from class to class. These include: source of knowledge, guide, evaluator, counselor, and often, foster parent.

TAs need to be warned about being overly stiff and distant, and conversely, from confusing students by trying to be both their boss and their friend. Showing video-tapes of successful teachers is extremely helpful here. When possible tapes of experienced foreign TAs should be included.

Student Types

After they have a sense of what *their* role will be, the TAs should be given a "no holds barred" picture of the students they will be facing. This can be done in two stages. First, an overview should provide information about the socio-economic, ethnic, and educational backgrounds of the student body. In some universities, this information can be summarized into a "profile" of an "average" student. This profile would give average age, ethnic background, high school record, attitudes about education and authority, and plans for the future. Where the population is diverse, a number of these profiles can be used to make clear the heterogeneity in preparation and expectations. The instructor can give some general suggestions about how to treat this sort of student population.

Second, the TAs can be told of the types of student personalities likely to occur in—let's say—a discussion section. Being able to identify predominant types will help the TAs react effectively to individual behavior and prepare appropriate responses. After the instructor has described each type and suggested responses, the TAs in dyads can role-play a teacher-student interchange. These role-plays can be re-enacted for the class and then critiqued by the entire group. The labels for the student types should be catchy and graphic. Some examples are: 1. *The Exhibitionist* — this student tries to get as much attention as possible and dominate class discussion by showing off; 2. *The Hider* — shy, depressed, or scared, this student does everything possible to keep from being called on or even noticed; 3. *The Average Joe/Jane* — expecting to get a "B" for not too much work, this student will take part from time to time if the discussion is particularly interesting (they often seem surprised that they are actually interested); 4. *The Rug Dealer* — sometimes a foreign student, the rug dealer sees everything in the course — assignment length, number of problems and especially grades as negotiable; 5. *The Joker* — seeming to take nothing seriously, this student disrupts the discussion with attempts (sometimes successful) at humor and; 6. *The Prize Student* — serious and studious, this student reminds the TA of him- or herself and can easily become the object of favoritism. Other less known but frequently present types are: *The Eccentric Genius, The Bad Kid* — the discipline problem, *Sweet Sue* — conscientious and dull, *The Space Case* — lost somewhere between Mars and Jupiter, and the ever popular *Grade Grubber*. While no class has all of these types, some appear in every classroom. The TAs can be asked to identify themselves and others in the group as types.

Types of Classes

Once the TAs have an understanding of the type of individual students they will encounter, they can be helped in conceptualizing the types of classes they will face. Generalizations about the group behaviour of the American college class will help here. The TAs need to know that American students want to respect their teacher, want to be treated equally, react well to honesty and consistency, can be quite patient, and develop, when allowed, great loyalty to their group and to their teacher. However, if they feel let down, they can as a group denigrate their teacher to a mere titular authority, to be borne, and little else. The mood and idiosyncracies of a few key individuals can set the tone for an entire class. Classes too can be seen as falling into categories. As with individuals, TAs should be prepared to identify and react to different sorts of classes. The TAs may have a group of *Olympians*, highly competitive students, often pre-meds — who are interested in outdoing each other. Or the class may be a collection of *Islanders* whose interests and backgrounds are so varied that they continue to act more like a number of individuals than as a group. The *Middlers* do what is necessary and avoid taking chances while the *Angry Young Men and Women* seem inexplicably hostile. With luck and perseverance, the TA may even be privileged to teach *Our Gang*, a group which is cooperative, alert, positive, and fun-loving. The instructor can lead a discussion on how to deal with each type of class. It should be stressed that class type can change during the course of a semester and that a teacher can, with some effort, change a group of *Islanders* into a cohesive *Our Gang*. At this point, the TA group can analyse the dynamics of this very class of TAs.

Class time

Having achieved some understanding of their potential students, the TAs need to know what to do with them. It must be assumed that the TAs have a reasonable mastery of their subjects; they need help in doling it out to their students. Usually the order of presentation is determined by the professor in charge or by the textbook; each discipline and each course has (or should have) its own interior logic. The TA, then, is responsible for setting the pace, both in the individual class hour and over the course of the course. For many foreign TAs, the sort of time management required of a teacher in an American classroom may very well be a subtle cross-cultural issue: their perception of time may be very different than that of an American student. The TA should be aware that American students often have a limited attention span and tune in and out during the course of an hour. They do tend to be more receptive during the middle of the class hour, after they have warmed up and before they become restless.

When making up their lesson plans—the importance of using a lesson plan should be stressed if need be—the TAs should be encouraged to build in consciously certain strategies which will affect the pace of presentation. The strategies need not be complex, but they should be intentional. Each class should have (in classic Aristotelian fashion) a beginning, a middle and an end. A warm-up to catch student interest, presentation of difficult material, and then some easier or even humorous activity makes for a class in which time is used effectively. The TAs should be given examples of lesson plans from their respective fields and asked to critique them. As homework or as an in-class activity, the TAs could be asked to prepare a lesson plan in their own subject or in a neutral subject like astrology about which they all know something but none is expert.

Moreover, the TAs should be admonished to start on time, to finish on time (not run over), to arrive early when possible, and to prepare enough material to fill the hour. American students resent getting less, and oddly enough, more than they have paid for.

The TAs need to comprehend the flow of a semester and to pace their presentations accordingly. They must be warned that time will be lost at the beginning of the semester—administrative snafus, students in the wrong class—but that they can not afford to fall behind and therefore should hurry the middle or a course so as to make sure they can finish the material. Also, the TAs should expect student behavior regarding holidays, that is, when to expect low attendance.

The First Day of Class

Similarly, the TAs should be aware of the crucial nature of the first day (or few days) of class. Important for any teacher, these "testing" days are even more critical for the foreign TAs. In many universities, students are allowed to "shop" the different sections of a course before deciding which teacher to stay with. Even where they can not change sections, students tend to make quick attitudinal decisions about how they will approach an individual instructor. The students "check out" their instructor in ways that are often hasty and unfair. Because of accent, non-native English, and ethnicity, foreign TAs find themselves in a particularly difficult position. However, there are some tactics which can help turn the situation in the TAs' favor. First, the TA, even if scared, should act confident and in charge. Americans respect foreign-born authorities — think of all those Viennese-born psychiatrists or French-born chefs — but often distrust "refugee" types. In certain cases, the TA's national backgrounds can be used to advantage. American students carry with them many stereotypes. Many expect Russians to be great mathematicians and the French to understand diplomacy; Japanese are inscrutable but have great wisdom and make good cars and stereos. As an introduction, the TA can mention her training with Professor X in Leningrad, or, his uncle in the Indian government. Second, the TAs can ask outright for the class's support and patience telling them of potential difficulties of accent and communication and asking for suggestions on how to deal with these. Third, the TA should tell the class exactly what is planned, how much is expected of them, how grades will be calculated and how help can be sought. The TA should strive to appear very much in charge of the situation but not overly rigid. Some humor at this point helps. If the teacher appears competent, humane, and aware of their problems, most American students will quickly forgive an occasional syntactic error.

Standards of Politeness

Once established as teacher, the TA becomes, as noted earlier, the primary authority figure. It is up to the TA to maintain general discipline, to lead discussions and, perhaps most important, to criticize student work. It is in this area that cross-cultural difficulties arise. Many styles of criticizing considered normal in many countries are totally out of place in the American classroom. Furthermore, standards of what is considered rudeness vary widely. Foreign TAs need to know that American students are often very sensitive; their feelings are easily hurt. American students are more comfortable with the "Yes, but . . ." approach in which the teacher first praises, agrees with or highlights something the student has said or written before pointing out a weakness. The more direct style of criticism employed in many countries is considered rude and even insulting by American students. Some students, once criticized, without first being built up, will withdraw for the rest of the semester. The TAs should have ample opportunity to practice the "Yes, but . . ." approach. Each can be asked to make up an outlandish or erroneous statement. Other class members can then practice tactful correction. As homework, the TAs can be asked to criticize sample student essays or problem sets. Even in the sciences where the rules of procedure are more precise, the TAs should be careful not to be overly harsh in their criticism.

All in all, the TA should learn to be tolerant of different attitudes and be patient with disagreement from students. They need to appear fair and consistent and to be able to justify their actions and methods. They should be aware of proxemics — the distances with which students feel comfortable. Wherever furniture can be moved to improve the situation, it should be. The TA should be sure to face the class as much as possible and to move around the classroom only as appropriate. The way the teacher uses classroom space does affect student perceptions. The TAs can try teaching from different spots in the room — center, sides — to see what the different results are.

Through a short course containing information such as that suggested, the lot of the foreign TA can be markedly improved. If the TA comes to see the American university classroom as a comprehensible and relatively safe place, he or she will gain enormously in confidence and be better able to create a safe environment where students can learn and grow.

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An Enrichment Model For Gifted/Talented ESL Pupils

William A. Gray and Marilynne E. Gray
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During the 1981-82 school year, 11 preservice teachers from the first author's educational psychology course earned course credit for serving as a mentor for 20 grade 6 or 7 gifted/talented (G/T) pupils from Doug Hill's enrichment program at Strathcona Elementary School in Vancouver*. Most of these pupils had previously learned English as a second language in primary grades such that they now demonstrated sufficient English facility as well as the kind of intellectual ability and motivational commitment needed to be able to do a "Mentor-Assisted Enrichment Project" (MAEP) with an English-speaking mentor.

This paper will present the "Four-Phase Enrichment Model" utilized by the mentors while working with these G/T ESL pupils, along with mentors' recommendations for revising this model for more effective use with ESL pupils. (This model had been previously developed and tested with 59 grade 6 and 7 Anglophone pupils over the previous three years. See Gray and Rogers, 1982, and Gray, 1982, for a description of the development of this model and pupils benefits gained from its utilization.)

Brief mention will also be made regarding benefits gained by pupils while working with a mentor. Finally, important cautions and recommendations will be presented.

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Mentor-Assisted Enrichment Projects

Except in two instances, mentors worked with pupils in pairs so that pupils would have the support of a partner with whom they could discuss places visited on the several fieldtrips arranged by the mentor as well as what had been learned from each enrichment experience.

Using the previously developed "Four-Phase Enrichment Model", (presented in Appendix A) mentors assisted their pupils to (a) plan, (b) carry out, (c) complete, and (d) present an enrichment project to classmates so that they also might benefit from what was done and learned. (Appendix A also presents mentor's comments about this model's applicability to G/T ESL pupils.)

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*This project was completed with the financial assistance of a research grant from the Educational Research Institute of British Columbia.

Unlike a tutor or teacher, who primarily provides remediation or instruction in *basic* concepts and skills, our mentors provide *enrichment* by sharing their own personal expertise in a topical area with *interested* pupils who, in the process, are challenged to use *higher level* thinking skills. In addition, our mentors make arrangements to take pupils on field trips and prepare them to interview a range of people in the community and workforce as well as help them utilize community resources in ways that exceed what typical classroom teachers or enrichment teachers can readily do to assist individual pupils in carrying out highly-varied enrichment projects.

We have found that a *compatible match* between mentor and pupils is essential to the success of a MAEP. The matching process begins in Phase I when prospective mentors write up a carefully-scheduled sequence of exciting, community-based *enrichment activities* in an area of personal expertise. After informing the pupils of proposed topics, Doug Hill (the enrichment teacher) met with the authors to match his pupils to a preferred topic and thus to a specific mentor. (Sometimes it was possible to reverse this procedure by finding out pupil's interests and then soliciting mentor proposals to match pupil interests.)

This Written Proposal was also important in other ways: (1) it quickly enabled mentor and pupils to agree on a Finalized Project Plan during Phase II because they had something definite to discuss; (2) it gave direction to overall project planning and execution; (3) it enabled mentor and pupils to be properly prepared before each meeting since they knew what was planned; (4) it helped to avoid last minute rushes and pressure being put on the pupil to complete a presentable end-product reflecting what was done and learned; and (5) it allowed time for rehearsing the project presentation so that it was smooth-flowing, interesting, and informative.

During Phase II, mentors began to establish a harmonious working relationship by involving pupils in making decisions about what *they* wanted to do, how, why, etc. At the first meeting with pupils, each mentor presented his/her Written Proposal without trying to impose it, solicited pupil reactions, and then incorporated them into a *mutually-agreed upon*, Finalized Written Plan to which all would commit themselves to complete. (See Appendix B for an example.)

Successfully carrying out a MAEP during Phase III depended upon the following things. First, mentors did not assume that just because a pupil is "gifted" s/he already knew how to do something (such as how to prepare good interview questions) or already understood important new complex concepts. Instead, mentors asked appropriate questions in order to diagnose specific instructional input to be provided. This procedure enabled pupils to complete related homework assignments so that they were prepared for the next scheduled activity.

Second, mentors periodically reviewed with pupils what had been done and learned in order to help consolidation of new learnings and incorporation into a presentable end-product.

Third, visual evidence of what was done and learned was obtained/made each week in the form of models, photos, slides, charts, posters, etc.) so that these materials could easily be assembled at the end of the project for use in the class presentation.

Fourth, mentors ascertained if pupil interest was waning or had turned in an unexpected direction, and, if so, rewrote the remaining schedule of activities into a revised plan.

Fifth, mentors telephoned pupils at home a night or two before the next meeting to assure that the pupils would be prepared and able to meet.

Throughout Phase III, mentors turned in weekly Mentor Reports that indicated what had been done/learned, and was planned for the next meeting. The authors graded these Mentor Reports and gave photocopies to the enrichment teacher for the following reasons: (1) to keep themselves and the enrichment teacher informed; (2) to maintain the mentor's responsibility to be properly prepared for each meeting; (3) to assure that the enrichment project would be completed and presented according to schedule; and (4) to indicate the mentor's developing competency in utilizing appropriate instructional methods and learning activities to promote cognitive, affective, and social learning outcomes. (See Appendix C for an example.)

During Phase IV, not only did mentors and their pupils look forward to giving a well-rehearsed, interesting, and informative presentation of their project, but so did classmates and other teachers. Thus, the mentor's role during Phase IV was to help pupils organize previously-prepared visuals into a smoothly sequenced multi-media presentation, and then to provide feedback as pupils rehearsed the presentation. (Sometimes, mentors had to demonstrate how to do a class presentation.)

Benefits From Using "Mentor-Assisted Enrichment Projects"

The authors and the participating enrichment teacher (Doug Hill) believe that MAEPs should be utilized as an integral part of a teacher's overall enrichment program for G/T ESL pupils for the following reasons:

The program provides an inexpensive means of enabling G/T ESL pupils to pursue an in-depth investigation of a real problem or topic of personal interest to them, based on Renzulli's (1977) "Enrichment Triad Model". Mentors have the time and expertise to share with individual pupils to help them plan, carry out, complete, and subsequently present an enrichment project of some 8-10 weeks duration whereas the typical teacher is unable to provide this kind of individual assistance. (Each MAEP costs about $20 for field trips, for slides and other materials used in class presentations.)

Field trips expand pupils' cultural awareness. This is especially beneficial for pupils such as those at Strathcona School, who tend not to venture out of the "Chinatown" community in which they live.

The program develops individual pupil's language facility further as a result of (a) rehearsing and then interviewing various people in the work-force/community, (b) discussing with a partner how those activities undertaken and those things learned would be presented to classmates, and (c) rehearsing and giving a class presentation.

The pupils' social and emotional development is fostered by enabling each to gain confidence from interviewing new people during fieldtrips and from giving a class presentation, as well as by learning how to work cooperatively, sometimes leading and sometimes supporting a partner.

The program provides real-life opportunities for pupils to develop and utilize the higher level thinking skills in Bloom's (1956) taxonomy while internalizing the value gained from what was experienced throughout the enrichment project in accordance with Krathwohl's (1956) taxonomy of affective learning outcomes.

And finally, the project enables preservice teachers to develop basic teaching skills and gain first-hand knowledge of the characterics of G/T ESL pupils as a result of assisting them in planning, conducting, completing, and presenting an enrichment project of 8-10 weeks duration.

Support Required for MAEP

Although "Mentor-Assisted Enrichment Projects" have proven beneficial to both pupils and mentors, some concluding cautions shall be presented to dispel any misconceptions about this scheme being easy to implement, for such is not the case.

The enrichment teacher must be prepared to obtain cooperation from all the regular classroom teachers whose gifted and talented pupils are going to work with a mentor because sometimes the pupils will have to be excused from their regular classrooms in order to meet mentors at a time that fits their mentor's university schedule of courses.

The principal's support is essential in handling public relations with parents, including communicating the advantages of working with a mentor and obtaining parental permission for unusual fieldtrips (e.g. one of our mentors took his pupil flying). Principals also help obtain money for the materials (e.g. slide film, poster paper) that will be used to give multi-media class presentations illustrating places visited on field trips, and things seen and learned.

The enrichment teacher and the mentors must be prepared to spend additional time at school or on the telephone at home resolving unforseen problems and obtaining resource materials needed to complete and present a quality enrichment project.

The college or university instructor must be willing to spend time helping prospective mentors to prepare an initial proposal and then to revise it into a manageable 8-10 week plan of appropriately-sequenced, interesting enrichment activities which not only maintain pupils' interest but which also challenges them. This instructor must give feedback on the mentor's Weekly Reports and work harmoniously with the enrichment teacher in supporting each other's supervision of the mentors, in handling unexpected problems, and in making necessary changes (over the telephone at night, in meetings after school or on weekends).

Future Directions

Interviews conducted with mentors, pupils, and the enrichment teacher after the "Mentor-Assisted Enrichment Projects" had been presented provided the following information pertinent to their future implementation.

Mentors said that they need to be taught how to (1) "read" pupil reactions in order to know if pupils are benefitting from doing the project, (2) encourage pupils to contribute more readily to planning the project, and (3) assure pupils and their parents that field trips outside of the "Chinatown" community are not frightening, but are beneficial and enjoyable. Accordingly, next year, a "cultural unit" on how to work with our Oriental ESL pupils will be included as an important part of the mentor's training. This unit will also deal with topics such as parental expectations for academic excellence at the expense of personal enjoyment, and pupil attitudes towards risking failure as they venture into the unknown.

To inform next year's mentors and pupils about what a MAEP entails from beginning to the final class presentation, they will be shown videotapes of pupils describing their completed projects to classmates and to the authors during taped interviews. The end-products made by previous pupils will be displayed to provide additional visual examples. Further communication will occur via the "grapevine" as pupils tell their friends what they did and learned while working with a mentor.

Because most pupils reported nervousness over giving their class presentations, mentors will be instructed to assist their pupils to rehearse before small groups of 4-6 pupils and to view videotaped playbacks of these rehearsals instead of simply rehearsing before one's mentor as was done in 1981-82.

Doug Hill, the enrichment teacher is planning to show parents videotaped examples of pupils giving class presentations as well as examples of other completed MAEPs so that parents will encourage their children to go on field trips and then present to classmates what they did and learned.

Next year, greater emphasis will be stressed by the authors and the enrichment teacher on what "gifted/talented" means in the school context where mentors will work because many mentors mistakenly geared their input to the top 1-3% when they were more often working with the top 10-20% of pupils in order to promote our objective of not excluding pupils on the basis of some arbitrarily high IQ score. In fact, we believe that the guidelines provided in the "Four-Phase Enrichment Model" can enable a preservice teacher to mentor any pupil, who is motivated to do a MAEP in an area of personal interest.

Our goal is to provide low-cost enrichment experiences for interested pupils, which benefit those pupils and their classmates as well as our preservice teachers. Four years of experience with Anglophone pupils and one year with ESL pupils has provided evidence that we are accomplishing our goal.

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Appendix A. MENTOR COMMENTS REGARDING THE APPLICABILITY OF A FOUR-PHASE ENRICHMENT MODEL FOR USE WITH ESL STUDENTS

Phase I: MENTOR DRAFTS PROPOSED ENRICHMENT PROJECT BEFORE MEETING STUDENTS

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Step 1: Mentor identifies a topic or an area of personal expertise (e.g., hobby, work experience, university major)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Special Hints for Succeeding</td><td>Mentor Comments</td></tr>
<tr><td>A. Topic should be broad enough to get material on it yet limited enough to be completed in the time span available.
B. The topic should be of interest to the age level of the students for whom you will be the mentor.
C. Be enthusiastic about the topic in order to motivate student interest. Do not assume all students are intrinsically motivated.</td><td>A. Mentors endorsed this hint.
B. As above with additional comment that mentors should be able to incorporate active and varied learning experiences into the project.
C. Mentors felt this was very important to keep in mind.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Step 2: Mentor writes up a proposed sequence (schedule) of actively-involving learning experiences that will enable students to gain new knowledge, skills and sensitivities from an in-depth study of the topic, culminating in the completion of a project product and class presentation of this. The purpose of this proposal is to match mentors to pupils who are interested in this same topic.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Special Hints for Succeeding</td><td>Mentor Comments</td></tr>
<tr><td>A. Active learning experiences (e.g., field trips, interviewing someone, making something) heighten & sustain students' interest.</td><td>A. Mentors endorsed this hint, emphasizing the need to (a) design each activity to the final project presentation; (b) provide several alternatives for the students to choose from; (c) leave time for student feedback; and (d) pay attention to desirable student characteristics as noted on the mentor proposal (e.g., for a project on computers, the students will need to be at a certain level in mathematics or in art, the students ideally should have a creative bent.)</td></tr>
<tr><td>B. There will be times when mentors will have to provide informational input. Do this using not only verbal explanation, but also visual aids (movies, filmstrips, concrete models, pictures, etc.).</td><td>B. Mentors agreed with this and cautioned that sometimes such visual aids are not available when they are needed so advance planning should be done to have alternatives.</td></tr>
<tr><td>C. Be able to communicate to your students why each learning experience is important in terms of how it leads to the next experience and how it promotes specified learning outcomes.</td><td>C. Mentors agreed with this noting that if the project is logically-sequenced at the outset then learning experiences will link one with another.</td></tr>
<tr><td>D. The completion of a final project product gives the students a feeling of accomplishment, and it can be shared with (presented to) classmates to benefit them in turn.</td><td>D. Mentors endorsed this hint.</td></tr>
</table>

Phase II: MENTOR AND STUDENTS AGREE ON ACTUAL PROJECT TO BE DONE

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Step 3: Mentor and interested students discuss the proposed enrichment project as a take-off point for agreeing on the actual project to be done.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Special Hints for Succeeding</td><td>Mentor Comments</td></tr>
<tr><td>A. Ask questions related to your proposal and then listen to the students' needs and interests because it is the students who ultimately will do the project, and they will do it more willingly if they have had a voice in deciding what will be done, when, etc. Do not just talk the students into doing your project, for it must be their project as well if motivation is to be maintained for doing it.
B. Emphasize special aspects of your proposed project, especially out-of-class activities and meeting people in the community.
C. Do not over burden students with unnecessary homework. Many "gifted" students are already doing numerous extra-curricular activities. Plan the schedule so that most things can be done when you can provide the necessary help and guidance.</td><td>A. Mentors felt this is critical because this is the point at which communication is established. At the start of the project, it is helpful to have 2 or 3 very specific suggestions as students are thinking about a topic which may be new to them; thus, they will not have many ideas or experiences to draw on. Deciding what they want to do can be a difficult experience especially for shy students.
B. Mentors agreed with this hint.
C. As above comment.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Step 4: Jointly agree upon the actual project to be done and revise the schedule of learning activities and outcomes accordingly. Specify due dates for completion of special asignments.</td></tr>
<tr><td>A. Agree upon responsibilities that each will assume. If you work with more than one student, it is imperative that each pupil takes on well-defined roles/responsibilities that are important to carrying out the overall project and completing a final product.
B. Agree to periodically review the scheduled learning activities to take into account illness and other setbacks and to include new learning experiences. Then, revise the schedule in writing so everyone has a record of the changes in responsibilities/dates/etc.
C. Get a commitment from students to do what's been agreed upon, including necessary homework, in accordance with scheduled due dates.</td><td>A. Mentors felt it might be useful to have written contracts in some instances, a listing of goals at the start of each meeting, and a clear understanding of meeting times/places/activities.
B. Mentors agreed that flexibility was essential. This was also seen as an opportunity to incorporate student suggestions into the project in a well-defined manner.
C. Mentors agreed with this hint and suggested writing the homework down also helps.</td></tr>
</table>

Phase III: DOING THE AGREED-UPON PROJECT

Step 5: Prepare exciting/novel materials and experiences before each meeting with students to prevent loss of interest.	
Special Hints for Succeeding	**Mentor Comments**
A. Obtain parent permission (on consent forms) & make necessary arrangements well before out-of-school activities are to take place.	A. Mentors endorsed this hint. Some mentors suggested a checklist could help students to prepare. A clear outline of expectations helps (e.g., behavior). A phone call to students the night before is useful to make sure everything is in order.
B. Do not assume that the classroom teacher/school already has whatever materials/resources you need. Check beforehand.	B. Mentors endorsed this hint.

Step 6: Provide active learning experiences whenever possible, which: (a) have a perceivable purpose in themselves; and (b) lead to completion of a presentable project product.	
Special Hints for Succeeding	**Mentor Comments**
A. At the start of each meeting, briefly review what has been done to date as a lead-in to what is being done at this meeting.	A. Mentors agreed with this hint. Mentors thought this should be done as soon as possible after the previous event. If more than one student is involved, this is an opportunity to compare/contrast/combine impressions.
B. Weekly learning experiences should not be just "busy work". They must be directly related to the topic & to the final product (e.g., the results of several interviews or visits might be summarized and compared in some meaningful way).	B. Mentors agreed and suggested that this was the time to provide an example or sample to get students started.
C. Do not do for the students what they can do for themselves. Nevertheless, it is important to provide informational (instructional) input when necessary so that they learn new skills and/or concepts needed for doing active learning experiences.	C. Mentors supported this idea.
D. Be certain students understand and accept the purpose for doing each activity (to maintain motivaton).	D. Mentors supported this idea.

Step 7: Prepare the students for subsequent learning experiences (meetings). These should be so structured that they are directly related to the overall project plan & proposed project product.

Special Hints for Succeeding	Mentor Comments
A. The week before each meeting, discuss with students what activity is scheduled and what responsibilities everyone has and why (*i.e.*, how the activity fits into the overall project and will lead to the completion of the project product). This will enable students to understand and do what has been planned (including homework assignments).	A. Mentors concurred with this hint.
B. Do not assume such things as: students can design their own questionnaire to use for next week's out-class interview. Explain and show them how to do these things.	B. Mentors emphasized the importance of not assuming too much with bright/talented/gifted students.
C. Phone the students 1-2 days before regularly scheduled meetings to find out if necessary homework assignments have been done, if your help is needed, etc.	C. Mentors agreed with some mentioning that pupils should learn how to contact mentors. This would provide not only the experience but also the sense of responsibility for the work.

Phase IV: FINISHING AND PRESENTING THE PROJECT

Step 8: Help students organize whatever materials will be used in the class presentation of the project product.	
Special Hints for Succeeding	Mentor Comments
A. Provide assistance where necessary, always remembering that IT IS THE STUDENTS' PROJECT—you are the mentor. B. Emphasize neatness and the use of colourful materials because these attract audience attention during the class presentation. *NOTE:* These materials (*e.g.*, posters, photos, slides, pictures, reports, charts, models, graphs, etc.) should have been prepared throughout the project such that they can be "finished off" (if necessary) & organized into a coherent project product that reflects what was done/learned during the project.	A. Mentors agreed with this. B. Mentors regarded this as very important. Some students might have difficulty in taking interesting photos of places visited (etc.) but mentors felt students certainly could provide the commentary. Activity during the presentation and audience participation were also mentioned as factors to consider.
Step 9: Practice (rehearse) the class presentation of the project.	
Special Hints for Succeeding	Mentor Comments
A. Let students present the project to you (pretend you are the class and ask questions where appropriate to get students used to answering). Emphasize the proper use of visual aids in the presentation and clear/loud voice projection. B. Use a tape recorder so students can hear themselves presenting. Better yet, use videotape playback unit. C. Time the various parts of the presentation emphasizing smooth and proper pacing. *NOTE:* You might need to demonstrate (model) how to give an interesting presentation which smoothly incorporates the various materials/visuals that will be used.	A. Mentors agreed with this. Mentors felt it is useful to have presentations given to small groups prior to a whole-class presentation. B. Mentors endorsed this hint. C. Mentors agreed with this.
Step 10: Next week, students present the completed project to their classmates.	

Appendix B. A FINALIZED PLAN AGREED UPON BY MENTOR AND STUDENT(S) FOR A COMMUNITY BASED "MENTOR-ASSISTED ENRICHMENT PROJECT"

MENTOR: Nadine Johnson STUDENT(S): Anna Louk Lilian Kwan
SCHOOL: Strathcona PROJECT TOPIC: Silver Smithing

WEEK	LEARNING ACTIVITY (INCLUDING RESOURCES)	OUTCOME-RELATED LEARNING
#1	1. Meet students, present topic and proposal. 2. Discuss project options. Select two. 3. Set goals for the project. 4. Establish mentor's contract. Student one for homework.	1. Stimulate intrinsic motivation. 2. Discussion skills. 3. Set realistic goals. 4. Accept responsibility for own action. Work independently.
#2	1. Complete contract. 2. Provide 1st set of equipment, work area. 3. Demonstrate use of tools, scribing, sawing and filing. 4. Work on copper piece. 5. Discuss design principles. Do comparative exercise. 6. Prepare and practise questions for jeweler.	1. Accept responsibility for own actions. 2 & 3 Knowledge of equipment and techniques. 4. Practise techniques. 5. Recognize elements of good design; comparing. 6. Question preparation, confidence.
#3	1. Review progress; discuss design. 2. Rehearse questions with mentor. 3. Visit jeweler. 4. Discuss field trip, select for presentation. 5. Prepare thank you note.	1. Participation in planning. 2. Communication skills, self confidence. 3. Observation and ques. skill. 4. Decision and organizing skills. 5. Courtesy skills.
#4	1. Design 2nd project-onto silver. 2. Demonstrate cabochon stone setting and bezel. 3. Demonstrate soldering. 4. Make bezel and solder to design. 5. Discuss tour of smelting company.	1. Demonstrate own design style. 2. Knowledge of techniques. 3. " " Safety habits. 4. Practise techniques. 5. Prepare for tour.
#5	1. Tour Delta Smelting Company. 2. Compile information from tour. 3. Prepare thank you note. 4. Discuss problem with work area—solve. 5. Work on silver piece.	1. Observation and question skills. 2. Organization skills. 3. Courtesy skills. 4. Problem solving skills. 5. Practise techniques.
#6	1. Work on project. Students teach each other. 2. Organize outline for class presentation.	1. Speed and accuracy; work independently and at own rate; share knowledge. 2. Decision making and organization skills.
#7	1. Demonstrate hand and machine polishing. 2. Practise polishing. 3. Finish silver pieces. 4. Prepare posters for presentation. 5. Rehearse mock demonstration and presentation.	1. Knowledge of techniques. 2. Practise skills. 3. Completion of a project. 4. Organization, art work. 5. Speaking skills, confidence.
#8	Class Presentation: 1. Demonstration of making a sterling ring. 2. Present (verbally) information and display samples.	1. Demonstration skills. 2. Share knowledge. Speaking skills.

Appendix C. MENTOR'S WEEKLY REPORT FOR A MENTOR-DIRECTED ENRICHMENT PROJECT

MENTOR Don Froese STUDENTS Rose Kim and Kathleen Chang
DATE March 7/82 MEETING TOPIC Horses in Today's World
STARTING TIME 11:00 a.m. FINISHING TIME 3:00 p.m.

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1. (a) State *what your student did today*, including *specific resources utilized* (i.e., people, materials, community, etc.). (Worth 10 pts.)

Today the students and I went to visit a breeding farm run by Kathy Gibson. We saw three yearling fillies and learned about the differences between quarter horses and thoroughbreds. Kathy told us what the different types of horses are used for and also what is involved in breeding, showing and racing horses. Resources involved included Kathy Gibson, and 3 horses: Pumpkin, Shady and Honey.

(b) State how (a) is related to the final Enrichment Project product that your student will present to classmates. (Worth 10 pts.)

The students explain to their classmates ways of telling a quarter horse from a thoroughbred. They can tell their audience what these horses are used for and what different classes of showing and racing they can be entered in. The students can also tell about horse breeding. Samples of feeds and grains were also collected.

2. (a) Describe *one higher level thinking skill* (based on Bloom's taxonomy) your student learned/demonstrated today. How is this skill important for doing this Enrichment Project? (Worth 5 pts.)

Today the students demonstrated *application* of information. They were able to use the knowledge they had obtained about characteristics of different types of horses to come up with the conclusion that quarter-horses would be good for herding cattle and thoroughbreds good for racing. This is important in understanding why different horses are used for different things.

(b) Describe *one social skill, or affective learning outcome* based on Krathwohl's taxonomy, that your student learned/demonstrated today. How is this important for doing this Enrichment Project? (Worth 5 pts.)

The students showed that they *valued* horses as something worthwhile to study. The girls seemed to value the horses as exciting and interesting animals. They also seemed to value all the information and knowledge Kathy could give them. This is important because the outcome of the project depends on the value which is put on horses.

3. Describe *specific instructional methods* you utilized today. *How effectively?* (Worth 10 pts.)

Kathy talked to the students and told them a lot about horses and breeding. She also brought out a thoroughbred and a quarter horse together to actually show the differences between them. The girls were quite shy, so I suggested questions for them to ask Kathy, who was more than willing to answer them. These methods worked very successfully.

4. Answer either (a) or (b) as appropriate. (Worth 10 pts.)

(a) If your student was *self-motivated* today, describe how you provided *necessary direction or* assistance without imposing your own ideas on your student.

(b) If your student was *not self-motivated* today, describe *specific motivation and/or disciple techniques* you utilised today as mentioned in class or in your textbook (e.g. assertiveness reality therapy, behavior modification, etc.) *How effectively?*

The students were generally self-motivated today. They were very excited about seeing the fillies and they were also very interested in what Kathy had to tell them. The only difficulty was that they were too shy to ask questions. My suggesting questions for them to ask helped them to get over this shyness to some extent.

5. Describe *two* major things *you learned* from today's mentoring experience that will enable you to do a better job of being a mentor the next time you meet your student. (Worth 5 pts. each = 10 pts.

1. I learned that I should try to put these students at ease when we talk with people when they don't know. This would encourage them to talk and ask more questions.
2. I also learned that even though the girls are still a little bit afraid of horses they are very interested in horses and want to know as much as they can about them.

6. Describe *one* major new thing you learned about the *characteristics* of gifted/talented students from today's meeting with your student. (Worth 5 pts.)

I learned that these children were very concerned about academic performance and grades. They worked very hard at taking notes and expressed their desire to present a high quality project to their peers.

7. Indicate *what* your student will *learn and do* at the next meeting, including *resources* to be utilised. (Worth 5 pts.)

Next meeting we will be visiting Southlands riding club. We will take pictures of horses and observe how they are kept, looked after, and put to use. Resources will be the Southlands riding club and my camera.

NOTE **Did you have any problems for which you need my assistance? (If so, explain).**

ED228899

English for Special Purposes in Adult ESL

JoAnn Crandall and
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Washington

Introduction

Traditionally, ESP has addressed the specialized English requirements for lawyers, engineers, scientists and other professionals who require access to English-language texts and papers and who need to communicate at conferences or with clients who are native English speakers. A number of factors has led to a similar specialization in the development and implementation of ESL courses for all adults*, including those who are non-literate or undereducated and who seek only minimal English language proficiency. In Adult ESL, a variety of program models has developed—an array of specialized English courses—to meet the needs of refugees and immigrants of varying ages, educational backgrounds, and social situations. Thus, instead of General ESL, models of Survival ESL, Prevocational ESL, Vocation-Specific ESL, Home Management ESL, ESL/Literacy, and ESL/Basic Skills have all been identified and developed, providing specialized syllabi and curricula.

What makes the movement to ESP at lower levels especially interesting is the combination of this with the development of Competency-Based curricula, which enable sets of cultural competencies to be taught, with appropriate language skills and cultural behaviors, in such a way that several of these models can be integrated and taught in the same classroom.

This paper discusses the characteristics of ESP in Adult ESL, the integral relationship between Adult ESP and competency-based curricula, and the potential this offers for simultaneous teaching of language and culture in a targeted ESP context.

FL013688

Adult ESL

Our experience during the past six years working with adult ESL, primarily with refugees and migrants, has convinced us that for adult learners there is very little justification for general ESL. In fact, when meeting the second language needs of adult learners, we are always designing a *specialized* English course; in short, adult ESL is always ESP.

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*Note: Throughout the paper, "adult" is used to refer to individuals involved in "survival" English instruction as opposed to professional or pre-academic programs. (Editors)

This fact is really not a new discovery. Historically, adult ESL has been the section within our field which has been the most specialized. A number of reasons can account for this. Adults have required relevance in their language classes or they have displayed their dissatisfaction by ceasing to attend. Unlike other ESL students, adults face little sanction in not attending class. They do not need grades and they do not fear dismissal. Adult learning theory has thus emphasized the importance of meeting adult needs, of letting adult learners set their own objectives. This has required organizing a curriculum which meets highly specified goals, which treats the adult learner as somebody who has a number of responsibilities and a variety of needs outside of the classroom which must be met. Adult ESL professionals realized early on that curricula or language teaching programs must assist in meeting these other goals rather than competing with them, if they are to be successful.

We have probably been doing ESP at the adult level for a long time. Witness for example, the Adult Basic Education (ABE)/ESL classes which prepare somebody to take the General Educational Development Exam, or witness the ESL classes which were designed to prepare foreign-born adults for citizenship. It may be that we have only begun to apply the name ESP, but those teachers who were trying to get people employed through ESL classes were teaching pre-vocational ESL or doing ESP long before we called it that.

There probably are still some general adult ESL classes offered somewhere in the U.S., i.e. ESL classes which address the entirety of the language and assume that a student has many years of instruction ahead. For example, there are courses which are preparing adults for higher education, perhaps to get into the community college and later, the university, but these students tend to be the exception in adult ESL programs. The needs for these classes is not as great as it is for other shorter, more focused, ESL classes. More common in adult ESL classes are the nonliterate, rural adults with few transferrable skills, the skilled mechanic who needs English for recertification, or the homebound woman, who traditionally worked only at home taking care of her family, but who finds herself in the U.S. as a head of household, with both immediate and extended family depending upon her.

The profile of the adult student, then, is not an easy one to draw. A demographic picture of the adult ESL program will include a variety of students with a variety of goals and objectives, who enter with very different educational backgrounds, cultural patterns, learning styles, and reasons for learning English. Few of them are on a straight vertical path to institutions of higher education. Real life needs are likely to interrupt.

ESP Program Models

In an attempt to meet the diverse needs of these students, programs in adult ESP have evolved. At least six program models for adult ESP were identified and described in a small, national working conference which brought together adult ESL teachers and program administrators who had grappled with the problems of curriculum development for L_2 students. The participants identified commonalities of effective adult program design but more important, specified the distinctive features of adult ESL program offerings.

The six program models are:

1. Survival/Coping Skills ESL
2. Literacy ESL
3. Prevocational ESL
4. Basic Skills/GED ESL
5. Vocational ESL/VESL
6. Home Management ESL[1]

We will discuss each of these briefly and then illustrate how they can be integrated into a competency-based curriculum.

The first is the program which was most widespread: *Survival/Coping Skills ESL*. Although there were few texts which addressed this area, programs were forced to provide basic survival ESL.[2] Survival ESP is the English an adult needs to be able to survive in the United States: the English of getting a job, enrolling children in school, managing a bank account, buying food, clothing the family, taking care of medical needs, and so forth. It is essentially the language that is needed to function in the various settings in the U.S. Survival ESL attempts to teach only *minimal* skills, or minimal competencies in an effort to help adults to cope at a basic level. The emphasis is on getting by, not on producing grammatically perfect and descriptive sentences. (Instead of "I need ten pounds of rice," just "rice, please" or "big bag rice" are sufficient.)

The second program model is *Literacy ESL*, which evolved to meet the needs of the large numbers of Hmong, Mien, Haitians and other pre- and non-literate groups who have come to the United States recently. We have probably had non-literates in our adult ESL classes for many years, but only recently have we designed many ESL programs specifically for them.[3] These programs also teach survival skills, but with an important distinction: they first address what it means to be a student, and what it means to read, write and compute. (Literacy here includes numeracy.)

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[1] The results of this conference can be found in *Program Design Considerations for English as a Second Language*.

[2] Perhaps the earliest of these texts was *ESL: A New Approach for the 21st Century* (Modulearn and Delta). Since that time a number of others have appeared, among them: *English for Adult Competency* (Prentice-Hall), *Lifelines* (Regents), *Everyday English* (Alemany), *In Tune* (Scott, Foresman) and *Speak English* (IML).

[3] It should be noted that organizations such as Laubach Literacy, Literacy Volunteers etc. have been attempting to meet the needs of these adults for some time. However, much of their ESL material is adapted from previous material developed for native English speakers and is not integrally second language oriented.

Many adult ESL programs realized that in grouping students, previous education was a more critical factor than the level of English proficiency. Having been students, knowing what is expected of them, and being able to read and write, are more important criteria for placing people in the ESL classroom than the amount of English they know. For a country that has done so little formal literacy training, we are having to learn fast how to do it, and to integrate it into second language classes.[4]

The third model to be considered is *Prevocational ESL*, also called General Occupational ESL. It teaches the English which people need to get a job, to keep a job, and to advance in a job. These are not job-specific but rather generalizable skills; i.e. being able to read want ads, to understand signs on windows that say "Help Wanted", to ask and answer basic questions about a job, to identify one's qualifications, to fill out a job application form, and finally to understand fringe benefits, pay checks, time clocks, work and safety rules, etc. In addition to teaching the necessary English skills, this program also provides an introduction to the world of work and the American work ethic and clarifies concepts such as upward mobility and the American tradition of working and studying simultaneously.[5]

The fourth model is the *Basic Skills/GED ESL*. This may be a carryover from the more traditional Adult Basic Education (ABE/ESL) ESL, preparing people to go beyond their limited formal education, generally to get a GED, or to get into a two-year college. Basic Skills ESL provides adults not only with the reading, writing and oral language skills necessary to compete as students, but also with computational skills. Although this model has been in existence the longest, in some ways it is the least clearly defined, perhaps because it comes closest to Adult Basic Education in general and to general ESL preparation. There are also no special GED/ESL textbooks; instead programs use a GED preparation text and a general ESL text and hope somehow these two will be compatible.

The fifth program model is *Vocational ESL*, VESL, or Occupation-specific ESL. This is the one that traditional ESP practitioners, people who work in English courses for doctors and engineers or for other professionals, recognize as ESP. The difference in this case, of course, is that the focus in VESL is on semi-skilled or skilled occupations. These include electronics assembly, welding, carpentry, auto-body repair, upholstery, clerical, cosmetology, and some of the health care para-professional areas such as practical nursing or respiratory therapy. VESL tries to do two things: to teach the English which is needed for vocational training and, also, the

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[4] There has been a burgeoning number of texts appearing. Among them: *Passages to Literacy* (Delta), *Modulearn ESL/Literacy Program* (Modulearn/BEA, Inc.), *Impact* (Addison-Wesley) and *First Steps to Reading and Writing* (Newbury House).

[5] Recent prevocational ESL texts include: *It's Up to You* (Longmans) and *English That Works* (Scott Foresman). The Center for Applied Linguistics has also developed a series, *English for Your Job*.

English needed to do the job. These are not necessarily the same.[6] In fact, often the English needed for vocational training is more complex than that required to actually perform on the job, especially in reading and writing skills.[7]

The sixth model is *Home Management ESL*, which is intended for women or the elderly (of both sexes) who are homebound. The purposes of such an ESL focus range from helping people to defend themselves in their home, being able to answer the telephone or report an emergency, and being able to do the few tasks that are required outside of the home. In reference to the latter, women usually acquire principal responsibility for enrolling children in school; thus they need to understand their role as it relates to the teacher and the American school system. Some of the more innovative Adult ESP programs are those that are helping women who are terrified of going out into the community to progressively move outside of the home until finally they feel competent in using the bus system, going shopping, and eventually in presenting themselves at some center where they can continue their education. Often Home Management ESL courses are held in people's homes or in apartment houses, where women do not have to worry about child care and where they are in a familiar setting.[8]

These six different program models, and others have demanded that ESL professionals refocus and reorganize curricula, not to mention develop and publish a whole new set of texts, materials, and tests.[9] This has occurred while Adult Basic Education was in general becoming increasingly competency-based. It is not surprising then, that adult ESP curricula would develop into competency statements, breaking language learning down into manageable and immediately meaningful chunks.

What is a competency-based curriculum? It is a performance-based outline of language tasks which leads to a demonstrated mastery of the language of basic life skills, or vocational skills, or pre-vocational skills, etc., necessary for individuals to function proficiently in the society in which they are living.

Several factors led to the development of specialized adult ESL competency-based curricula. During the 70's a number of relevant trends from within the field of language and linguistics itself and within the broader field of adult education converged and contributed to the formulation of competency-based curricula in adult ESL.

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[6] There are numerous texts available, both published and unpublished. A comprehensive bibliography appears in *Adult Vocational ESL*. An update of materials is provided in the *ESP Clearinghouse Newsletter* available from Oregon State University.

[7] A number of occupational literacy studies for native speakers have revealed this. See, for instance, Sticht, 1975.

[8] Because of the informality of these programs, few published materials exist. The most comprehensive available text is *Teaching Refugee Women*, though other sources of information can be found in *A Future For Us All*.

[9] We have mentioned a number of texts. Specialization is also occurring in the field of assessment. For example, the CASAS project is a competency-based survival/prevocational test item bank. The Basic English Skills Test (B.E.S.T.) also tests survival ESL in listening, speaking, reading and writing.

Within the field of adult learning theory, Malcolm Knowles, among others, stressed the importance of making all adult instruction learner-centered, of treating the adult as someone with a complex set of responsibilities, needs and goals, involving social, political, economic and religious roles. Knowles saw that all effective training depended to a great extent on the degree to which the learners' expectations as well as their orientation to learning are compatible with the training they receive. Competency-based adult education programs where learning is task-oriented developed from these insights.

The basis for many of these programs is the Adult Performance Level (APL) study. In 1971, the Division of Adult Education, of the U.S. Office of Education, commissioned a study to identify the skills necessary for an adult to function successfully in today's society. This four year study, conducted by Norvell Northrup and his colleagues at the University of Texas at Austin, identified these skills by observing and analyzing the real life tasks an adult performs in everyday life.

The APL study identified 65 competencies by integrating four basic areas — communication, computation, problem solving and interpersonal relationships — with five knowledge areas: occupational, consumer, health, government and law, and community resources. These competencies or task-oriented goals were written in terms of behavioral objectives. For instance, a communication competency would be: "a student will be able to use the telephone." Broadened to an ESL context: "a student will be able to use enough English to be understood, on the telephone, in emergencies."

Figure 1

*APL MODEL OF FUNCTIONAL COMPETENCY: SELECTED EXAMPLES OF TASKS

General Knowledge and Content Areas

Basic Skills	**Consumer Economics**	**Occupational Knowledge**	**Health**	**Community Resources**	**Government and Law**
Reading	read a sale ad	read a job description	read first aid directions	read a movie schedule	read about your rights after arrest
Writing		fill out a job application	complete a medical history form		
Speaking, Listening, Viewing	ask questions about buying on credit	follow job safety rules (directions)	follow a doctor's directions	use the telephone	describe an accident
Problem-Solving	decide which apartment to rent	decide which job suits you	decide when to go to a hospital emergency room	use stamp machines in the post office	decide which candidate to vote for
Interpersonal relations	relate to a sales clerk	succeed in a job interview		ask directions	interact with police successfully
Computation	compute sales tax	calculate paycheck deductions			

* (adapted from Kasworm, "Competency-Based Adult Education: A Challenge for the 80's")

At the same time as adult educators were looking at the needs of adults as students, linguists and language teachers were looking at the needs of adults as second language learners. In the early 1970's, the Council of Europe launched a project which identified the language an adult would use to participate at a basic level in a range of social situations when visiting a Common Market country. The results were a threshhold-level syllabus and more important, the notional/functional approach to language teaching, which stresses what people do by means of language.

In addition, practitioners working in ESL programs in specialized contexts, and those preparing undergraduate and graduate students became concerned with focussing their ESL instruction more sharply. This led to the development of ESP and its many subfields of English for Science and Technology (EST), English for Business and Economics (EBE), etc.

The competency-based approach in adult ESL is really a meld of these developments in adult education and language learning theory and practice. It shares much with the notional/functional syllabus as a curriculum, and with ESP as a theory of targeted or directed language learning, but with one important distinction. In a competency-based curriculum the framework is external to language. Linguistic factors are considered secondary to social factors. Like the APL, a competency-based language curriculum addresses real-life tasks which a limited English speaker must perform. But it also takes into account the structures and lexical items that must be used in performing these tasks within a functional context, and thus, goes farther than the APL in looking at communicative competence.

The following illustration provides an outline of a competency-based ESL curriculum and identifies the considerations which govern its development.

Figure 2

Topic	Competency	Speaking	Listening	Reading (Sight Words)	Writing	Structure	Vocabulary	Cultural Notes	Materials and Activities

Because of the emphasis on life skills, rather than linguistic skills, the first consideration is *Topic* which could be food, clothing, introductions, transportation, the workings of a specialized machine, caring for a child, turning on a stove, or communicating with a teacher. Moreover, it could fit into any of the program models previously discussed.

A subset of Topic is the *Competency*. The competency specifies what the learner will be able to do with the language of the topic: i.e., the learner will be able to ask for the location of food items, to understand a clerk's directions, to introduce oneself and give personal information, etc. A competency identifies a task and provides definite goals and objectives for the student to meet.

The next considerations are the language components of the curriculum: *Speaking, Listening, Reading*, and *Writing*, followed by *Structure, Vocabulary, Cultural Notes*, and *Materials and Activities*.

One might wonder why it is necessary to do so much specification. The four skills are listed separately because some competencies involve only one skill, while others involve several. What we want to teach within any of the program models is real language, or language as it is spoken, read or written. We do not want to waste a student's time on things that are not useful. For instance, a student might have to understand the directions given over an airport loudspeaker — "Flight 54 is in the final boarding stage" or "Please proceed to Gate A" — but that is not something we particularly want the student to be able to say. Nor do we want to teach an employee to sound like the boss, but we want the student to listen very carefully to what the boss sounds like. And one might need to be able to read a "No Smoking" sign but will probably never have to write it. In laying out a curriculum, we have to think very carefully about what language we want the student to learn, and why.

Whatever is listed in the speaking column is also assumed in the listening column, but the reverse is not necessarily true. When a certain competency does not involve reading or writing skills, these columns are left blank. By dividing language this way, we can home in on what language the student needs to learn for the specific purposes of doing the task identified in the competency. What a detailed curriculum does is help the teacher focus on real and necessary language, and prevent irrevelant or largely unnecessary language practice. Organizing the curriculum in this way also prevents the introduction of too many skills at one time, which can overload the students, especially at the beginning level. The students, as well as the teacher, can focus their attention on individual skills as they come into play in a given topic area.

There is a column for *Structure* included in the curriculum layout because as much as all of us are attuned to new approaches to the organization of language in notional/functional syllabi and speech acts, we are reluctant to give up some attention to structure. In such a curriculum, one can focus on the structures to be practiced or reviewed within a defined competency, and also maintain an inventory of structures for the entire syllabus. For instance, in teaching the student to be able to ask for food in a supermarket, perhaps we would concentrate on mass and count nouns and want to reinforce and spiral plurals that have been introduced in a previous lesson. Including a column on structures makes us aware of the grammatical units involved in particular communicative acts, but structure is not the major focus of the curriculum.

Also identified in the *Vocabulary* column are the lexical items to be emphasized. Here the curriculum developer can list the minimal vocabulary, an augmented vocabulary, and an optimal vocabulary for advanced students. By identifying these leves of vocabulary, teachers can gradually introduce new lexical items and more effectively deal with the multi-level classroom.

Another column deals with *Cultural Considerations*. In the ESL classroom we are dealing with language as it is embedded in culture. But there are also other considerations noted in the cultural column. For instance, in meeting a stranger and introducing oneself, it is very important for us in the U.S. to make eye contact. In other cultures, such as those of Southeast Asia, it is important not to make eye contact to show respect. We would want to make note of this in the cultural considerations column. In teaching introductions in a prevocational context, it is also important for the cultural column to include the nature of handshakes and address forms for employers and co-workers. The para-linguistic skill has to be taught along with the linguistic skill, and thus the student gradually acquires both the linguistic and cultural skills necessary to function competently in the United States.

The last column is labelled *Materials and Activities*. It's here that we list the instructional resources for teaching the competency. This might include references to lessons from available texts, the types of activities or practice most appropriate to teach that competency and the reality which makes the practice meaningful; such things as job applications or bank forms to be filled out in the classroom, or items of food or clothing to be bought and sold as a role-play activity.

The organization of the curriculum, outlined here, is one which is useful as a data gathering and teaching tool. It is especially suited to adult ESP needs. There are other ways of organizing a competency-based curriculum but the components are generally the same.[10]

Let's now see how the same competency would look within the different adult ESL models. For instance, the language to be taught under the topic of introductions and giving personal information will vary across models. On the survival level, we would want someone to be able to respond to "What's your name?" and to recognize their name as it is written in English. We would also like them to be able to give their address and phone number in an emergency. In prevocational and vocational ESL, however, students need to be able to understand and provide personal information on application and employment forms: *Last Name, First Name*, street address, phone number, age, sex, date of birth, marital status, previous occupation, etc. They are still identifying themselves, and giving relevant personal background. In Home Management ESL we might ask a woman to given an address in an emergency, or to provide her children's names and ages, in addition to her own name, address, and phone number. While cultural notes for prevocational ESL might address handshakes, the home management curriculum probably would not. In each of these program areas, we are addressing the same topic, but in different social spheres and with different competencies. It is important that the curriculum be a specialized curriculum for each of the program areas.

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[10] A number of competency-based ESL curricula have appeared recently, and are available, though not through commercial publishers. Among them are: *The Oregon Minimal Competencies* (Oregon State University), *The ESL Curriculum Guide* (Southeast Asia Intensive ESL Refugee Programs) and *The Refugee Education and Employment Program Curriculum* (Arlington County (Virginia) Adult Education System).

These specialized adult ESL competency-based curricula and program models meet a number of adult needs: among them, relevance, motivation and risk taking. The need for relevance is met in building a curriculum which emphasizes the teaching of language skills actually required for successfully functioning in whatever area we are teaching within that model: whether it's on the job, in the household, or in the classroom. Adults, therefore, always know what they are learning and why, and it is likely that they will learn more easily when the usefulness of the task is clear.

A specialized adult curriculum also enhances motivation. Here, language is not taught in isolation from life. In fact, language is not even the primary focus or concern. Instead, language is taught to enable an adult to accomplish something. Teaching the present tense for its own sake is rarely motivating, (except perhaps for linguists). But if we teach the present tense because it is necessary to perform a task which has frustrated the student in his daily life, then motivation becomes high. If each class enables an adult to do something in English that was not possible before, then the class has been successful and probably motivating.

This approach also encourages risk taking in a supportive environment. Adults are often reluctant to take risks because they are afraid of failure. (That's part of what makes them adults and not children.) But we know that the language learner must take risks. In dividing our programs into specialized ESL models and using a competency-based curriculum, we are providing the student with a simulated and protective environment which is as close to real life as possible (whatever real is to that student), but which is also safe.

In teaching specialized adult ESL, with competency-based curricula, emphasis is placed on communication. That is, we are teaching communication with language and not teaching language for possible use in communication. Moreover, we are doing it in manageable, goal-oriented chunks. Both the student and the teacher can see immediate results from this approach.

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Cultural Differences in Communication Patterns: Classroom Adaptations and Translation Strategies[*]

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This paper will discuss patterns of communication, particularly teaching/learning communication, in Hawaiian families, and the ways that these patterns affect the behaviors, expectations and skills that Hawaiian children bring to school. It will then describe some examples of educationally effective adaptations to these expectations and skills which Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) has made, and various strategies that KEEP has used in adapting it's program to the culture of the children it serves.

Teaching/Learning Communication at Home

A five year ethnographic study of modern Hawaiian culture (Gallimore, Boggs & Jordan, 1974; Howard, 1974) which preceded and was ancestral to KEEP, produced much of the information about the patterns of family organization and socialization on which KEEP has relied in developing its program. To summarize that five years of data in one paragraph (paraphrased from Jordan, D'Amato and Joesting (1981: 31-32)):

> Children in Hawaiian families are much desired and highly valued; and families tend to be large. The socialization system is organized to teach young people to be contributing members of a family. Childhood is not seen as a training ground for *leaving* the family, but instead as a time for learning to become increasingly responsible and competent *within* the family system. The basic values of the family are *inter*dependence (rather than *in*dependence) responsibility for others, sharing of work and resources, cooperation, and obedience and respect toward parents. The responsibilities that are assumed by young people start at an early age and involve critical family functions, to which children typically contribute as members of a work force of siblings. Child care is *shared*—by parents and older children; and after the age of two or three, children are expected to operate as part of the sibling group and to turn to siblings for help with routine kinds of problems and needs, instead of relying

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> only on one or two adults. Children learn to approach their elders with respect, to make requests indirectly, and to accept decisions without arguing. Direct confrontation with adults or negotiation between children and adult authorities is rare (and would be viewed as disrespectful).

It is clear that siblings and other children are very important in the socialization process; and it is in and from the sibling or companion group that a great deal of children's at-home learning takes place. Children learn skills for household, child-care, and self-care tasks by participating in those tasks with, and initially under the supervision of, older children. They often start out doing relatively minor parts of a task (picking up "rubbish" in the house or yard; holding the baby steady while his diaper is changed), and gradually work up to full knowledge and competence. For example, it is not unusual for an eight or nine year-old to be in charge of a baby or toddler for several hours and to handle the task with great competence and responsibility. This kind of arrangement of learning circumstances has certain consequences for the shape of the learning process. It allows for a good deal of covert *rehearsal* before performance of a skill or activity and for *partial performance* before full competence is present. It lets the child receive continual *feedback* about the quality of his own performance from comparison with that of older, more competent members of the group, and to *judge for himself* when he feels competent to perform. Also, the child can have the experience of *switching* back and forth between the role of "helped" and the role of "helper", depending on his own competence for a particular activity relative to that of other children in the group. Finally, because other children, as well as adults, are legitimate sources of information and help, Hawaiian children learn to *scan* the environment and to choose among a number of potential sources of help or information. Conversely, because they soon become responsible for younger children, they learn to scan for indications that *others* need help and to offer, or even impose, that help when they feel it is needed.

Thus much of the teaching and learning communication in which Hawaiian children engage in the home setting is with other children. How then do children learn from adults? A lot of their learning is by a process of filtration of knowledge from adults through older children. But in addition there are, of course, some extended, direct, and even one-to-one, interactions between children and adults. One major example is verbal play (Speidel, 1982). Also, children participate, usually as part of the sibling or companion group, in many activities, especially work activities, alongside of adults; and thus they have opportunities to both observe the full and correct performances of adults and to have their own errors corrected by someone fully competent. Finally, although children are not supposed to intrude unasked into adult activities, they are very often present and observing at such activities and have ample opportunity to learn from modelling.

One good example of this last circumstance (learning from observation of adult models) is adult *talk-story events*. *Talk-story* is a Hawaiian English term for a speech event which Karen Watson (1975, pg. 54), has described as "a rambling personal experience narrative mixed with folk materials". It is marked by the phenomenon of co-narration by two or more participants (Watson-Gegeo and Boggs, 1977). Children do not *participate* in adult talk-story sessions, but much of the time there are children present around the edges of such groups or sitting quietly in their midst. In this way, children are exposed both to a rich diet of adult speech and also to the particular sociolinguistic patterns of talk-story events; and although talk-story does not appear spontaneously in fully developed form until children are about twelve, it can be elicited in certain circumstances from children as young as six—a fact of which KEEP takes advantage in its reading lessons.

The Maternal Teaching Modes Study

As a complement to the ethnographic data, a controlled setting comparative study was carried out focusing on task-oriented teaching communication between a group of Hawaiian kindergarten children and their mothers (Jordan 1976; 1977). In this study, mother-child pairs were asked to work on three different tasks, or "games," and their interactions were videotaped. An equivalent set of videotapes was obtained for a Mid-western, middle-class population of school-successful children and their mothers. The tasks that both sets of mothers and children worked on were as follows:

Task (1a): The mother and child were given an "etch-a-sketch" game and asked to draw a "staircase" design. The etch-a-sketch is an apparatus with which a drawing can be produced on a sheet of plastic by manipulating two knobs, one of which moves the drawing point vertically while the other moves it horizontally. The mother was asked to manipulate one knob while the child controlled the other. Task (1b): Using the same apparatus, the mother and child were asked to draw a diamond. This is much more difficult to do than the staircase, since both knobs must be moved simultaneously and at about the same speed to produce a smooth outline. Task (2a): A three-dimensional plastic puzzle was introduced. It consisted of a five-sided box, along with several oddly-shaped plastic pieces which were to be fitted into the box. The shape of the pieces was such that there was only one way in which they could all fit into the box at the same time. The puzzle was too difficult for most young children to solve unaided. Task (2b): After the mother and child had worked on the puzzle for two to three minutes, the mother was given a diagram of the solution, which she was not supposed to show to her child. They were then allowed to continue working on the puzzle for another two to three minutes. Task (3): A box of tinkertoys was presented to the mother and child, and the child was told to play with them to make "as many different things as you think of." In all cases, directions were addressed to the child while he was sitting next to his mother at a low table, and the child was told, "Your Mom can help if you want."

Both sets of videotapes were examined for the amount of use by mothers of non-participatory verbal control of their child's activity, and also for the mother's use of demonstration/modelling and/or co-participation in the activity. (Demonstration and co-participation could be with or without accompanying verbalization.)

Rates of communicative-interaction were high and were equivalent for both groups of mothers. But the form or modes of communication were quite different for the two groups. The Mainland mothers had significantly higher rates of usage of verbal controlling techniques. On the other hand, the Hawaiian mothers had significantly higher rates of what we call mixed-modes communication—that is, use of co-participation or modelling/demonstration *combined* with task-oriented verbalization. They were also significantly higher in their reliance on non-verbal communication strategies. These relationships held across all tasks.

The results of this controlled setting study, taken in conjunction with the ethnographic data, suggest that Hawaiian children are socialized at home to communicate and learn in ways that differ from the communication and learning habits of mainstream culture children.

Peer Teaching/Learning at School

Now let us look at some of the consequences of these home socialization/communication patterns in terms of the behavior of Hawaiian children in school settings. In particular, let us look at spontaneously occurring peer teaching/learning in school (Jordan 1976; 1978b).

As siblings and older children are important at home, so peers are important in school—and in very similar roles—as companions, as socializers, and as teachers. The children show a high degree of peer orientation, a strong tendency to attend to other children. Conversely, they do not automatically attend to adults just because they are adults. They tend to spend a high proportion of their classroom time in peer interaction. This can be disastrous, or it can present no problems, depending on how it is handled by the teacher.

Hawaiian children at school tend to turn to peers for help, as they turn to siblings at home, especially if the adult is "busy". In turn, they offer help to other children whom they perceive to be in difficulty. Teaching/learning among peers has been studied in KEEP classrooms, and we know something about the form that this kind of communication takes (Jordan, 1978a). The two major teaching strategies favored by the children are reminiscent of those used by siblings and mothers: *Modelling* and *intervention*. Modelling occurs when one child performs a behavior which is, in that situation, appropriate for a second child (but not necessarily for the first), thus showing the second child what to do. Intervention occurs when a child partially or wholly performs the correct behavior *for* another child, or physically causes the other child to do it. One of my favorite examples involved two kindergarten children:

> Jerome and Annlyn are doing math problems. Jerome has been trying to add using his fingers—holding up fingers on both hands, and using his chin as a pointer. He has been having some difficulty doing it. Now Annlyn is helping Jerome with his work. He holds his fingers out to Annlyn and she counts on them for him. This kind of interaction goes on for perhaps five minutes. Jerome repeatedly holds out his fingers for Annlyn to count. Annlyn counts, says the answer, and in some cases writes down the answer on Jerome's paper. After about three or four minutes of this, Jerome also begins to get the answers correct and he says the answers *either* at about the same time as Annlyn or before she does, somethings before she even gets all his fingers counted off. He also begins to write down some of his own answers on his paper; but Annlyn continues to both write on his paper and erase things on his paper (Jordan, KEEP Observation Notes with pseudonyms: Cohort IV).

This is typical. What is not typical—techniques that the children do *not* use very much—include verbal direction isolated from intervention or modelling, and decontextualized statement of rules or principles. This is not to say that the children may not learn principles from each other; but this appears to be through a process of induction from repeated examples, rather than by direct teaching of rule statements.

KEEP Adaptations: Two Examples

In its program, KEEP has made adaptations to features of Hawaiian child culture including those that have just been discussed. Two major examples of such adaptations are found in the social organization of the teacher-independent centers, and in the structure of the teacher-led reading lesson (Jordan, 1981a). Let us look first at centers. Speidel et al. (1982) emphasizes the importance of the reading lesson. But the children spend 80% of their Language Arts time in the teacher-independent centers; and it is absolutely vital that these be culturally appropriate settings that will encourage working and promote learning—which they are.

The small group setting of the teacher-independent centers is congruent with importance of peers and siblings outside of school, because it allows children the company of other children in adult-approved circumstances. More specifically, the group of children at a learning center is congruent with familiar sibling and companion group contexts for *working*. Although the teacher is present, she ordinarily does not intrude upon the working group of children. Consequently, as at home, other children are the most readily available sources of help or information. Also, for any individual child at a center, there is often at least one other child present who is currently doing or has already done the same work, so the potential for cooperative work is present.

Centers are ideal as contexts for learning because centers allow and encourage peer interaction and cooperative work so that the children are able to mobilize the strategies for teaching and learning acquired at home. These include seeking immediate feedback; scanning for and using multiple sources of help and information; scanning for other children in need of help;

volunteering help; role-switching; joint work; and the use of modelling and intervention as major teaching devices.

Turning now to the teacher-led reading lesson, three features of the lesson may contribute to its effectiveness with Hawaiian children:

First, the social organization of the lesson involves a *group* of children interacting with an adult, rather than children performing individually for the teacher on a one-to-one basis. As we have seen, for Hawaiian children, the former is the more appropriate context for interaction with an adult. Also, interaction with the adult is largely voluntary, at the pupil's own discretion and decision. All this contributes to producing a setting in which the children are able and willing to participate actively in the lesson.

Second, the reading lesson, like the center context, shares features with non-school learning situations. The children work on a task as a group, rather than alone. There is co-participation of the knowledgeable person (the teacher) and the less knowledgeable person (the students) together in the carrying out of the task. And, as at home, learning takes place in the presence of the performance of the *whole* task, not just some small part of it which may not be clearly related to performance goals in the minds of the children. This means that the teacher guides the children in learning to read by having them actually engage in the *whole process*—of reading, comprehending, and incorporating the written text into their thought processes. They interact with the printed symbols, manipulate those symbols, relate the text information to previous experience and use the information in conjunction with and on the same basis as they are accustomed to using information from other sources.

Finally, the reading lesson resembles the Hawaiian speech event of "talk-story," which Dr. Speidel will discuss in more detail. Here I will only note the resemblance, and that reading lessons conducted in *talk-story* style produce rich verbal interaction and idea manipulation (Au, 1980b; Au & Jordan, 1981).

Translation Strategies and Potency Relationships

As is evident in the two examples just discussed, KEEP has not attempted to produce classrooms that look like Hawaiian homes, or like any other home setting. KEEP's experience has been that to produce an effective culturally compatible program, one does not simply transfer the home culture into the school setting. Rather, a selective and careful *translation* process is needed (Jordan, 1981a). In order to translate Hawaiian culture into school practice, KEEP has employed a number of different strategies (Jordan, 1981b: Chapter 8). These strategies have different implications for the relationship between the culturally adapted classroom feature and its potency for an academically effective school program. These strategies and potency relationships are shown in Figure 1.

First the school may *encourage* and *build on* natal culture elements. In this case, the school situation is shaped to share specific features with

Figure 1

Translation Strategies and Potency Relationships

Translation strategy	Examples of natal culture element/child behavior	Culturally compatible classroom features	Classroom behavior outcome	Potency relationship*
encourage elicit; build on	Group setting of learning; cooperative nature of teaching and learning; group context of work	Centers organization for routine practice of academic skills; peers as allowed resource of help in centers	Task engagement; task completion; teacher has appropriate "supervisory" role	active potency
avoid	"Shut-down" reaction to adult confrontation	Voluntary participation in reading lesson and other performance events.	Children stay engaged in lesson event and in interaction with teacher.	passive potency
ignore	High levels of peer interaction	Non-academic interaction in centers, concurrent with or interspersed with on-task behavior, is allowed.	On task behavior continues; congenial atmosphere; children's time and energy is not wasted on trying to establish illicit peer contact.	neutrality
shape; extend	Selective attending to adults	Contingent social reward for attending to teacher instructions.	Children attend to teacher in limited, but academically sufficient, contexts.	extension

*Relationship between culturally compatible school feature and academic effects familiar situations, and it is these shared features which are employed to evoke the school-effective behavior or cognitive operation. For example, in the case of the KEEP reading program, the small group context in centers, as we have seen, provides situational encouragement for peer teaching and learning which, in turn, calls on a set of skills that the children have learned by occupying a variety of roles in sibling group settings, and which they can use effectively in school contexts also. The outcome is that the children tend to remain engaged with the work and are usually able to find the resources within the center peer group to complete it. Concomitantly, the teacher, like a Hawaiian parent, is allowed freedom from unnecessary routine helping tasks and has the opportunity to attend to the teaching of new academic skills, a task in which peers are not an adequate substitute for the teacher. Thus, the culturally compatible element is here actively potent for educational goals.

The second kind of strategy is that of *avoiding* a particular kind of natal culture element in the classroom. For example, as a result of the group-mediated nature of most relationships with adults, and because of the requirements of respectful behavior, Hawaiian children tend to react by "shutting down"—ceasing to interact—when in one-to-one confrontation with an adult authority. In most classroom situations, this is a reaction that one wishes to avoid. Therefore, KEEP teachers (except in circumstances where they may want to "shut down" a child for disciplinary reasons) avoid direct questioning of individual children who have not volunteered a response. This is an example of a culturally adapted school element which is passively potent for educational goals, because the absence or avoidance of the feature serves to create classroom situations in which desired school behaviors can take place. In this case, it allows children to remain actively participating in teacher-led activities.

The third strategy is *ignoring*. Ignoring classroom manifestations of natal culture features has also been used at KEEP. For example, there is much peer interaction which is concomitant with, but not directly relevant to, academic work in centers. What is recommended with respect to this cultural feature is that non-academic peer interaction which does not actively interfere with academic work be ignored. If Hawaiian children are isolated from each other and not allowed to have the social interaction with peers which is so important to them, they spend a great deal of time and energy establishing illicit peer contacts. The outcome of ignoring a certain level of non-academic interaction is that the children are able to work in a congenial atmosphere and may be more likely to stay academically on-task much of the time. The potency relationship is one of neutrality: The culturally compatible element is not directly employed for academic goals, but neither does it interfere with academic goals.

The final school strategy with respect to natal culture elements is to shape or *extend* them in some way. I have said that Hawaiian children tend to attend to peers; and in most circumstances, they do not automatically attend to adults. However, this statement is something of an oversimplification. The children do, of course, attend to some adults in some situations. For example, they will attend and orient to adults in a joking situation, in which the usual non-intrusiveness between children and adults is broken down. Also, in a setting in which children are working on a task with one or more adults, or when an adult is carrying out an activity which has intrinsic interest or importance to the children, the adult will be attended to as an expert model. Children will attend to adults of established authority in discipline situations. At KEEP, teachers systematically work to extend attending-to-an-adult to new situations and persons. Thus, one of the main functions of the early weeks of kindergarten is to teach the children that the person in this new role of "teacher" is socially relevant, and one to whom it is appropriate to attend in a wide variety of circumstances. The teacher shares some role markers with adults to whom they are accustomed to attending: She is an expert in the tasks to be done in the classroom; she is an authority in discipline matters and the judge of satisfactory task accomplishment; she is benevolent—that is, she is physically affectionate and emotionally warm toward the children; and she also controls important resources—recess, access to toys and games, access to peers. However, the children also learn that some of the circumstances in which the teacher wants their attention differ from those in which they are accustomed to giving it. For example, sometimes they are asked to attend to detailed verbal directions given to a large group of children. So in this case, the children are being shaped to extend their adult-attending to adult behavior which is somewhat different from that to which they are accustomed. However, they are not asked to attend to the classroom adult for long periods of time, exclusive of attending to their peers. The outcome is that the KEEP children do learn to attend to the teacher when she gives cues that this is the appropriate behavior. The potency relationship here is one of extension, in which the potency of the classroom feature is produced by extension of natal culture behavior to new contexts.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the teaching/learning communications in which Hawaiian children are involved at home, maternal communication modes in a controlled setting study, and spontaneously occurring peer teaching/learning communication at school. It has looked at two examples of the ways in which KEEP has adapted its program to the patterns of communicative interaction thus revealed. Finally, it has considered the variety of strategies utilized by KEEP in translating knowledge of Hawaiian communication patterns and other cultural features into culturally adapted, classroom practices. All of this discussion has been in service of illustrating the importance, in developing educational programs for minority children, of attending to features of communication (especially teaching/learning communication) characteristic of the children's home culture.

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Background Knowledge: Context and Familiarity In Reading Comprehension[*]

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Introduction

Research on reading comprehension among native speakers of English has shown that the ability to understand texts is based not only on the reader's linguisitc knowledge, but also on his or her general knowledge of the world and the extent to which that knowledge is activated during the mental process of reading.

In a series of empirical studies, Bransford and Johnson (1972, 1973) report significant effects on reading comprehension of the presence or absence of a prior context relative to which the text is read. Subjects who read text passages under the condition in which they are told in advance of the reading what the text is about, either by showing them a picture or by giving them a title, perform much better on recall of the texts and also rate the texts as more comprehensible than subjects who read the same text passages under the condition in which they are not given the topic in advance. This is particularly so for an opaque text, a text which does not itself reveal very clearly what its content area is. However, a transparent text, which clearly reveals what its content area is, does not require a prior context in order to be comprehended well or to be rated as comprehensible. Transparent and opaque texts need not be linguistically difficult, and need not even differ from one another linguistically. A text may be opaque if it contains lexical items which are vague, general and, therefore, non-revealing of a particular content area (e.g. words like *things, places, objects, do, make*); a more transparent text would contain more specific lexical items related to particular content areas (e.g. *clothes, laundromat, mousetrap, brush teeth, catch*). Thus, one component of native readers'

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background knowledge which has been found to affect reading comprehension, especially when reading opaque texts, is prior "context."

In another empirical study, also conducted with native speakers, Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert and Goetz (1977) found that another component of background knowledge which affects reading comprehension is the reader's prior familiarity with the content area of the text. In that study, a reader's prior familiarity with one or the other content area referred to by potentially ambiguous texts determined the way the texts were understood.

This paper reports a study which investigated the individual and interactive effects of both context and familiarity on the reading comprehension of both native English and non-native ESL readers. We were interested in determining if these two components of background knowledge would interact and, if so, how. We expected context to emerge as a strong factor for both native and non-native readers, but we weren't sure how it would interact with familiarity. This study adds to the present state of our knowledge by extending this type of research to the investigation of non-native, ESL readers, and further, by including both native and non-native readers in the same study, making direct comparison possible between native and non-native readers. Also, by bringing both context and familiarity together into a complex research design—when heretofore they've been studied only separately—we are able to measure both their individual as well as their interactive effects, if any. Lastly, by including different proficiency levels of ESL readers, we may look for development differences, if any, among non-native readers.

Research Design

The two components of background knowledge investigated by this study were operationally defined as follows:

context-context vs. no context;

the presence (i.e. context) or absence (i.e. no context) of a title and picture page preceding the text passage, which informs the reader in advance of reading the text of the content area relative to which the text passage should be read and understood. Presence of context should enhance the reader's cognitive predictive abilities and, therefore, facilitate what in schema theory (Rumelhart 1977, Rumelhart and Ortony 1977) is called the reader's top-down processing of a text.

familiarity-three degrees of familiarity;

novel vs. somewhat familiar vs. familiar; the presence within the reader of varying degrees of prior familiarity or experience of the content of the texts.

In order to manipulate familiarity, three different texts were constructed. The content area of Text A (See Appendix) was intended to be novel for most, if not all, readers; that of Text B was intended to be familiar to some, but not all, readers; and that of Text C was intended to be entirely familiar to all readers. In order to determine the actual degree of prior familiarity of each of our subjects with the content area of each of the texts, subjects were debriefed after their reading. Subjects rated each of the three text passages' prior familiarity on a 6 point scale, from 0-5, where 0 indicated complete prior unfamiliarity, i.e. a totally novel content area for the reader, and 5 indicated complete prior familiarity, i.e. a totally familiar content area for the reader. Our success at arriving at three texts which fit the three categories of novel, somewhat familiar, familiar, is indicated in Table 1.

Table 1
Average Familiarity Ratings

	Text A	Text B	Text C
Native N=36	1.31	4.50	5.00
Adv ESL N=50	1.46	3.70	4.90
High Inter ESL N=26	1.96	3.50	4.78
Averages	1.53	3.91	4.90

Familiarity Rating:
0=Have never heard of A, B, C and don't know what it is.
5=Have seen A, have done B, do C every day.

While Text A is not a totally novel content area, and Text C is not a totally familiar one, according to our subjects' self-ratings, the three texts do differ from each other significantly ($F = 255.74$, $p < .0001$) in degree of prior familiarity. Therefore, we do have three texts which differ in the degree of our readers' prior familiarity.

Length and syntactic complexity of the texts were controlled. Each text was 111-113 words in length; and each text consisted of 1.4 clauses per T-unit (Hunt 1965).

The two components of background knowledge were brought together into a 2-factor study (2 x 3), such that context was a two-valued "between" subjects factor, and familiarity was a three-valued "within" subjects factor. According to Lindquist (1953), this is a type I mixed design and requires special statistical treatment based on a two-way ANOVA.

Procedures

Reading booklets were prepared for each of the two between-subjects conditions: context vs. no-context. The booklets contained all three texts, varying in average degree of prior familiarity. Order of presentation of the texts was systematically varied. In the context condition, each text was preceded by a picture and title page; in the no context condition, a blank page that said "No Context" preceded each text. The booklets were distributed to subjects in their regular classroom groups. Written instructions at the beginning of the booklets were gone over orally with the subjects by the experimenters or an assistant. These instructions informed the subjects that this was a study of how native and non-native speakers of English read, understand and recall passages of different types in different contexts. Subjects were told that following the instruction page were three (3) short passages they were being asked to read, to try to understand and to recall. Further instructions told them that preceding each passage was a title/picture page which represented the context relative to which they should read and understand the passage. They were also told that for some of them, the title/picture page was blank, that there was no context given relative to which they should read and understand the passage. If they had such a blank page, they were told to read and to try to understand the passage as best they could relative to whatever context they could create for it on their own.

Subjects were told that they could spend as much time as they wanted on each page, but once they had turned a page and gone on, not to look back at the previous page or pages. To ensure this, as they turned each page, there were instructed to fold it behind the previous page so they couldn't see it.

Subjects could spend as long as they wanted looking at the context page before turning that page and reading the passage. They could also spend as long as they wanted reading the passage, but they were asked to read it only once, at their own comfortable reading rate. Subjects were told that when they completed reading the passage, they were to turn the page and rate the passage's comprehensibility—how easy or difficult they though the passage was to understand—on a 1-7 scale (1=very hard, 7=very easy). This comprehensibility rating was the first dependent variable in the study. Next they were told to turn the rating sheet and go on to the recall sheet on which they were to write down as much as they could recall. It was emphasized that since this was not a study of memorization, they were not expected to, nor should they try to, memorize the passage. They were told they were not expected to remember everything from the passage, but they were asked to write down as much as they did remember. Subjects were also told we were not interested in how well they wrote—that the important thing was to write down, somehow, what they remembered. These recall protocols provided the second dependent variable in the study—the percentage of idea units recalled from each text.

The following standard procedure was used to score the recall protocols. The idea units in each original text were designated *a priori* and corresponded to either individual (simple) sentences, basic semantic propositions, or phrases. Text A was analyzed into 10 idea units, Text B into 13 idea units, and Text C into 14 idea units. The recall protocols were scored independently by two judges against the *a priori* list of idea units. Paraphrases were allowed.* Inter-judge reliability between two judges, defined as the Pearson Product Moment Correlation between their scores, per subject group, ranged from .88 to .98. (Native, r=.88; Adv ESL, r=.98; High-Inter ESL, r=.94.) Any differences between the two judges were resolved by a third judge.

Subjects

Three groups of subjects participated in the study. The first group consisted of thirty-six (36) native speakers of English, undergraduate students at either SIU-C or the University of Alabama. The second group consisted of fifty (50) advanced learners of English as a second language, international students matriculated into one or the other university. In order to be admitted to the university, they had to have TOEFL scores of approximately 500, or the equivalent in overall English proficiency. These students represented a number of different native language backgrounds, including Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Korean and Greek; the largest number of them, however, were Malaysians. The third group consisted of twenty-six (26) high-intermediate learners of English as a second language, international students enrolled in the highest level (level 4) of the intensive ESL center for pre-matriculated students at SIU-C (CESL). These intensive ESL students also represented a number of the same various native language backgrounds previously mentioned, and a plurality of them, too, were Malyasians.

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*Two different criteria of scoring recall protocols were employed—a loose criterion and a strict criterion. In the loose criterion, distortions were allowed—cases in which most or part of the meaning was correctly recalled or paraphrased, but which included some distortion of the original meaning. For example, the *Sonar for the Blind* text says "the closer an object is, the lower the pitch;" a distorted recall might have said "the closer an object is, the louder the pitch." In the strict criterion, distortions were not allowed, although paraphrases were. The recall data reported in this paper are limited to the strict criterion.

Results

Results are reported separately for each dependent variable: (1) the subjects' ratings of the comprehensibility of the passages on a 7-point scale, where 1=very hard to understand, and 7=very easy to understand; and (2) the percentage of idea units recalled out of a maximum of 10 for Text A, 13 for Text B, and 14 for Text C.

Descriptive statistics for these two dependent variables are reported in Table 2 by subject groups.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics - Means

Comprehensibility Rating

	Context			No Context		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
Native N=36	5.00	5.28	5.67	3.83	2.89	3.94
Adv ESL N=50	4.40	5.44	4.80	4.44	4.16	4.52
High Inter ESL N=26	3.46	4.54	4.69	4.23	3.62	4.46

(1-7 rating scale; 1=very hard, 7=very easy)

Recall Percentage

	Context			No Context		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
Native N=36	40.56	47.44	46.82	35.56	23.50	33.33
Adv ESL N=50	24.80	32.75	31.23	25.60	20.00	31.43
High Inter ESL N=26	20.77	27.22	34.06	20.00	18.98	22.53

(% of idea units recalled)

Several observations may be made about these descriptive data. Focusing initially on the top of Table 2, we may note that in the no context condition both ESL groups tended to rate their comprehension as quite high—higher, in fact, than the native group on all three texts. This did not happen in the context condition, where we see what appears to be the more expected relationship between comprehensibility ratings and overall level of English proficiency. In terms of recall, reported at the bottom of Table 2, in both the context and no context conditions, we see that the ESL groups fell below the native speakers, and that there appears to be a general relationship between amount recalled and overall level of English proficiency. This is not surprising and must certainly reflect a developmental pattern reflecting overall proficiency in English. What is surprising, or at least striking and worthy of comment, is the fact that in the no context condition the ESL groups would, as it were, over-rate their comprehension. We return to this point later.

In order to determine what all these numbers mean in terms of the individual as well as interactive effects of context and familiarity, the data were subjected to a two-way ANOVA, through the SAS package of statistical programs on SIU-C's IBM370 computer. The General Linear Models (GLM) procedure used allowed tests to distinguish the between-subjects factor (context) from the within-subjects factor (familiarity). The results are reported in Table 3; the top portion of Table 3 reports the results on the first dependent measure—comprehensibility rating, the lower portion of Table 3 reports the results on the second dependent measure—recall percentage.

Table 3
Two-Way ANOVA

Comprehensibility Rating

	Model=	Context	Familiarity	Context x Familiarity
Native N=36	*F=2.28 *r^2=.57	*F=21.05	F=1.78	F=1.27
Adv ESL N=50	*F=2.47 *r^2=.58	F=2.11	F=0.99	*F=3.18
High Inter ESL N=26	*F=1.87 *r^2=.53	F=0.09	F=2.01	F=2.61
	*$p < .05$			

Recall Percentage

	Model=	Context	Familiarity	Context x Familiarity
Native N=36	*F=2.46 *r^2=.59	*F=8.26	F=0.62	F=2.63
Adv ESL N=50	*F=4.57 *r^2=.72	F=0.66	F=2.86	*F=3.95
High Inter ESL N=26	*F=3.15 *r^2=.66	F=1.56	F=2.35	F=1.11
	*$p < .05$			

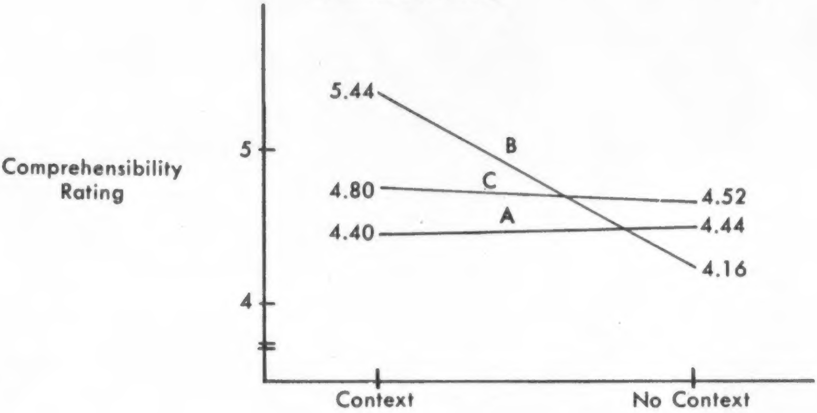
With the main effects of both components and the interaction of these taken together in a single formula (or model statement), we see for each group of subjects that a significant amount of the total variability in each dependent measure is accounted for by the model. (Note especially the significant r^2 values, the percentages of the total variance in each dependent measure which is accounted for by the model statement.)

Looking first at the comprehensibility rating, which is probably the least interesting of the two dependent measures, but the one which reflects subjects' own perceptions of their reading comprehension, Table 3 shows that for the native group context is the only significant component of background knowledge affecting subjects' ratings of comprehensibility. For the ESL groups, neither context nor familiarity significantly affects subjects' comprehensibility ratings. The significant interaction of context and familiarity for the advanced ESL group means that context had a differential effect according to the text's familiarity. See Figure 1.

What Figure 1 shows is that the presence or absence of context had the greatest effect on the ratings of Text B — the somewhat-familiar — somewhat-novel text. Presence of context caused it to be rated a relatively easy, absence of context cause it to be rated as relatively more difficult by the advanced ESL group.

What is important in the top portion of Table 3, then, is that neither ESL group is like the native group in the effect of context as the single significant component of background knowledge to influence the subjects' ratings of a passage's comprehensibility. We return to this in the discussion.

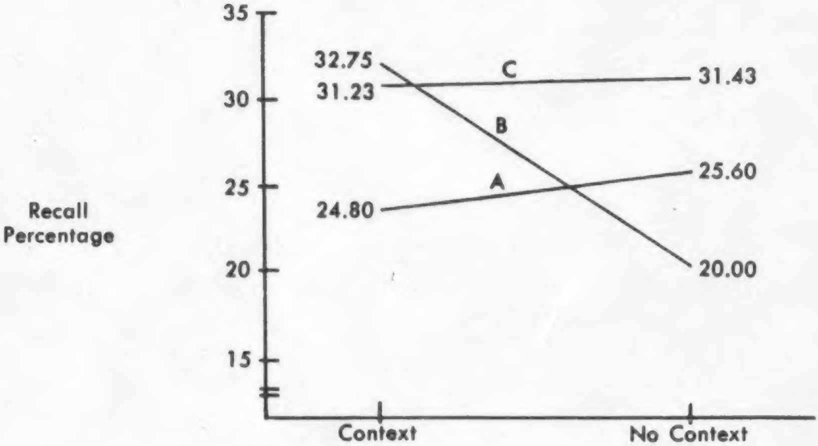
Figure 1
Context x Familiarity Interaction
Comprehensibility Rating
Advanced ESL Group



Turning to the percentage of idea units recalled by the subjects, the more interesting and more objective of the two dependent measures, the lower portion of Table 3 shows the same pattern of results as were found for the comprehensibility ratings. For the native group, context is the single component of background knowledge contributing to the amount of the passage recalled. For the ESL groups, neither context nor familiarity significantly affects the amount of the passage recalled. The significant interaction of context and familiarity for the advanced ESL group means again that context had a differential effect according to the text's familiarity. See Figure 2. What Figure 2 shows is that the presence or absence of context had the greatest effect on the recall of Text B — the somewhat-familiar-but-somewhat-novel text. Thus, in terms of recalling a passage, neither of the ESL groups is behaving like the native group in showing a significant effect of context on recall.

The absence of a significant effect of familiarity on either the compre-

Figure 2
Context x Familiarity Interaction
Recall Percentage
Advanced ESL Group



hensibility ratings or the recall percentages for any subject group, even for the native group, is noteworthy. We believe that our failure to produce a significant effect of familiarity on subjects' comprehensibility ratings may be due to the fact that all the texts were opaque,[3] not containing specific lexical items which would reveal their content area. Thus, although subjects had varying degrees of familiarity with the content areas of the texts, in the no context condition — because the texts were opaque and no contextual clues were present — subjects could not mentally access their prior familiarity in rating the texts. The absence of a significant effect of familiarity on subjects' recall percentages may be due, we believe, to either the same reasons just given — the text's opacity and subjects' inability to access prior familiarity — or, it may be due to the short recall interval used in our design. All texts were recalled after only a short interval. Therefore, because we were essentially testing short term memory for relatively short texts, the salience of the novel tests may have been sufficient to offset the familiarity of the other texts. If we had been able to elicit recall after a 24-hour interval, we might have produced differential due to familiarity.

After performing the two-way ANOVA procedure, a post hoc procedure (Duncan's Multiple Range Test of Cell Means) was performed on both main effects — context and familiarity. What this procedure does is to take each of the main effects, one at a time, and takes all the variance due to the other main and interactive effects, whether they are significant or not in the ANOVA, and pools the variance into the main effect being examined. It thus has the net effect of considering each of the components as though they'd been studied separately, not together in one study. Therefore, a component that was not significant when both were taken into account together (i.e. context or familiarity, singly and interactively) in the ANOVA procedure may emerge as signicant via such post hoc data snooping. We report these to show what is found through separate analyses of context and familiarity. However, we consider the more complex two-way ANOVA analysis more valid. We report these results also to show the cell means for each of the two components.

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[3] See the related research reported in Carrell (1982), in which both transparent as well as opaque texts were used as a third component of background knowledge.

Table 4
Two Components Separately
Post Hoc Pair-Wise Comparisons of Cell Means

Comprehensibility Rating

	CONTEXT		FAMILIARITY		
	Context	No Context	A	B	C
Native	5.31	3.56	4.42	4.08	4.81
N=36	••				
Adv ESL	4.88	4.37	4.42	4.80	4.66
N=50	••				
High Inter ESL	4.23	4.10	3.85	4.08	4.58
N=26					

(1-7 rating scale; 1=very hard, 7=very easy)
••p<05

Recall Percentage

	CONTEXT		FAMILIARITY		
	Context	No Context	A	B	C
Native	44.94	30.80	38.06	35.47	40.08
N=36	••				
Adv ESL	29.59	25.68	25.20	26.37	31.33
N=50				••	
High Inter ESL	27.35	20.49	20.38	23.08	28.30
N=26	••			••	

% of idea units recalled)
••p<.05

Double asterisk (••) in Table 4 means a pair-wise comparison was statistically significant, p<.05; all other pair-wise comparisons not marked with the double asterisk were not statistically significant. Taking the comprehensibility ratings first, we see that for the native groups, only context is significant. This is the same result found via the two-way ANOVA. However, now for the advanced ESL group, context emerges as significant. Nothing emerges as significant for the high-intermediate ESL group.

Turning now to recall percentages, the lower portion of Table 5 shows context still the only significant effect for the native group. Context remains insignificant for the advanced ESL group, but emerges as significant for the high-intermediate group. Also, we see some significant differences in the recall percentages due to the text's familiarity.

One final analysis was performed on the data. This analysis was to determine the extent to which subjects' ratings of the passages tended to covary with their recall. In other words, if subjects tended to rate the passage as easy, did this mean they recalled more than if they tended to rate the passage as difficult? For each group we found a statistically significant ($p < .05$) but moderate Pearson Product Moment correlation between comprehensibility rating and recall percentage: for the native group, $r=.30$; for the advanced ESL group, $r=.32$; and for the high-intermediate group, $r=.28$.

Discussion

So, what do the numbers mean? The basic findings of this study may be summarized as follows. First, context plays a significant role in the way native speakers read, understand, and recall passages. Native speakers utilize context as part of a top-down processing strategy to make cognitive predictions of what a text is going to be about as it's being read. Second, non-native speakers of English, reading in English, don't read like native speakers; they do not process text as native speakers do. Neither advanced nor high-intermediate readers appear to reliably utilize context to make appropriate cognitive predictions based on context about the text's meaning. Third, while native speakers as a group appear to have a good sense of how easy or difficult a text is for them to understand, ESL readers as a group appear not to have this sense. Although all groups showed a significant but moderate correlation between their comprehensibility ratings and recall percentages, as a group, the ESL readers tended to overrate their comprehension relative to their recall — especially in the absence of context. They tended to perceive the texts out of context as easy, but yet did not recall them well.

In terms of schema-theoretical approaches to reading, in which the reader is viewed as being at least as important as the text, and in which reading is viewed as the reader's construction of meaning from the text, reading is an interactive process between the reader and the text. Meaning does not just reside in the text, rather meaning is constructed out of the interaction between a reader's activated background knowledge and what's in the text. If a reader is not actively using his/her background knowledge, a significant part of the reading process isn't taking place, and the construction of meaning suffers.

What our results suggest is that high-intermediate and even advanced level ESL readers appear to be linguistically bound to a text — they are processing the literal language of the text but are not making the necessary connections between the text and the appropriate background information. Even when they are explicitly provided with that appropriate background information — that is, when they are given an explicit context — they don't utilize that background knowledge. In this sense they appear not to be efficient text processors, they are not utilizing context as a top-down cognitive processing mode to make appropriate predictions about the meaning of a text.

A related study conducted by Carrell (1982) which investigated not only the two components studied here, context and familiarity, but which added a third component, textual transparency, yielded similar findings. In that study, not only was context one significant component of native speakers' but not of advanced or high-intermediate ESL speakers' reading recall, but textual transparency and familiarity were also significant components of native speakers' but not of advanced or high-intermediate ESL speakers' reading recall.

Obviously, a lot more research like this needs to be done before we can accept these findings as established fact. However, if that research continues to show, as this study does, that context, one component of background knowledge, is utilized by native readers but not by non-native ESL readers, then several additional questions are raised. For example, do ESL readers utilize context when reading in their native language but somehow fail to transfer this strategy to reading in a foreign language, or do they not utilize this kind of background knowledge in their native language reading? The next question might be: Would ESL readers be better readers and comprehenders of text if they did use background knowledge more effectively in their reading? If so, the $64,000 question is: How can we teach these skills or strategies in ESL reading classes?

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APPENDIX: TEXTS

TEXT A

Sonar for the Blind*

The closer an object is, the lower the pitch, and the larger the object, the louder the signal. Hard surfaces produce a sharp "ping," while soft ones send back signals with a slight fuzzy quality. An object slightly to the right of the head sends back a louder sound to the right ear than to the left. Thus, if the head moves right and left and up and down, an object can be located, and, because the sounds reaching the ears have varying qualities, some notion of its size and shape can also be obtained. All of this allows for more independence than was ever thought possible for the recipients of these sounds.

TEXT B

Setting a Mousetrap

Although the piece of wood is quite small, it is necessary to take great care in handling it. In the past, many people have experienced great pain when getting it ready for use. It is essential that the substance placed upon the wood be of the right texture; if it does not stick to the piece of metal, it will not cause the metal to move when the action begins, and nothing will happen. It is also important to place the apparatus in a good location, for if it is put in a place where the object of its attention is unlikely to appear, the whole effort will have been wasted.

TEXT C

Brushing Your Teeth

The task is extremely simple. It is not even necessary to do each one separately — they can all be done at more or less the same time. However, if all are not given equal treatment, a few may begin to feel bad. When it is first attempted, the whole procedure will be a little awkward, but soon it will become much easier. The materials may cost a few pennies once in a while, but most people will agree that if the process is done correctly, it is well worth the cost. It will not only save you money, but it might prevent a lot of pain and anguish in the future.

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*Text A. *Sonar for the Blind*, was selected and then adapted from a reading selection by the same name in *Reader's Choice*, edited by E. Margaret Baudoin, Ellen S. Bober, Mark A. Clarke, Barbara K. Dobson and Sandra Silberstein. It originally appeared as a magazine article in *Newsweek*.

Verb Tense and ESL Composition: A Discourse Level Approach[*]

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ESL students' tense choices often distract from the overall comprehensibility of their writing. Some students seem to choose tenses arbitrarily; others switch tenses apparently at random. Individual sentences, removed from the text, might be grammatically correct, but at the discourse level the use of tense does not work.

This paper reports on research undertaken to investigate these problems. First, students were taped talking about verb errors in their writing. Data from these conferences reveal that students have difficulty understanding how context and rhetorical or temporal stance influence tense use. Second, comprehensibility of tense choices was examined in the writing of native-speaking graduate students. This study shows a correlation between readers' judgments of clarity and writers' adherence to discourse level tense constraints described by Chafe (1972).

The second part of the paper discusses the pedagogical implications of these studies and offers guidelines for materials development. The research clearly indicates that teachers should avoid contextless explanations for and exercises on verb tense, and that students' own writing provides the best basis for working on verb tense problems. Students need to be taught to manage the composing process. They need to know not only how English works, but also how good writers work.

Teaching verb forms and tense use is a major issue in TESL. Verbs are often a principal factor in syllabus organization, the main focus in drills and exercises, and a primary target of teachers' corrections of written work. Unfortunately, the frequent emphasis on correctness of verb usage distracts non-native speakers from the meaning of verb tenses. This problem is reflected in writing in which some students seem to choose tenses arbitrarily and others switch tenses apparently at random. Although individual sentences may be grammatically correct, the verb tenses do not work at the discourse level because they break the continuity established by earlier adverbials and tenses and thus distract from the meaning and rhetorical functions of a piece of writing.

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[*] The authors wish to thank Karl Krahnke and Jim Tollefson for their insightful assistance with the research projects reported on here.

Looking at students' verb problems from the discourse level reveals the inadequacy of pedagogical approaches that consider only the content of single sentences as the basis for tense choice. What a teacher may categorize as an error in form or in what is frequently referred to as tense consistency may result from a student's misunderstanding of how English tenses function in discourse. Because tense conveys the connections between an action and a writer's stance, errors in tense use may stem from lack of experience in creating a context or time frame for a piece of discourse so that it communicates sequence and temporal context to a reader.

The first part of this paper reports on two studies of verb tense use in discourse from different perspectives. The first is an analysis of ESL writers' explanations of verb tense errors in their writing, and the second, an investigation of readers' perceptions of tense choice in term papers of native-speaking graduate students. The second part of the paper discusses pedagogical implications of the studies and provides guidelines for materials development.

Students' Explanations of Their Errors

The error analysis project involved audio-taped conferences with four ESL freshman composition students who had been referred to a writing lab at the University of Washington for intensive work on error. The tapes were analyzed for information about the students' explanations of their errors and the discourse contexts in which errors appeared. To get direct evidence about the interlanguage systems (Selinker 1972) the students were aware of using, they were asked to try to explain why they chose specific erroneous forms. About one third of the verb errors discussed on the tapes can be classified as performance-based in that students knew the relevant rule and could correct the error readily. The explanations here were variations of, "I forgot." A somewhat larger group of errors, 40 per cent of the corpus, represented problems with form. The students knew what tense to use, but were forming it incorrectly. Difficulties here ranged from thinking *spent* was a present tense form to problems with modals and passives.

The third category of errors, problems with tense choice itself, accounted for a quarter of the errors on the tapes and became the focus of the second area of inquiry, the discourse context of verb errors. The basic research question was whether verb errors appeared more often in some verb tense, syntactic, or rhetorical environments than in others. It was hypothesized that there would be more errors in contexts that required shifts in verb tense, and this hypothesis was confirmed. Examples of contexts calling for shifts in verb tense include discourse that requires perfects or modals, texts that illustrate present tense exposition with past tense narrative, and past tense passages that use generic present tense to provide background information.

Analysis of the errors occuring in multi-tense discourse and of errors resulting from unnecessary tense shifts suggests that rhetorical context has more bearing on verb tense and form than is generally recognized. Looking at verb forms from the broadened perspective of rhetorical context is particularly intriguing because it suggests that some of the problems teachers label as verb errors, solvable by more faithful adherence to rules, in fact reflect more subtle rhetorical issues.

For example, in the following passage the error occurs exactly at the point of a rhetorical shift from description to narration, a shift that the student misunderstood as requiring a tense shift as well.

> (1) It is a clear sunny afternoon. As I view the scene from my bedroom window. I feel ecstasy as I gaze over the crystal clear Portage Bay and I can see the small colorful sailing boats. The sun rays are strong and the heat penetrates the window. As I opened the window, a cool breeze flashes on my face, it ~~was~~ is (revised during oral reading) refreshing.

The student explained that she used *opened* in sentence #5 because the *as* confused her and she thought it mandated a tense change. Yet she used present tense for *flashes* and emphatically changed *was* to *is* as she read aloud.

Textual analysis of the passage shows that *as* introduces an action that is prior to the moment of writing; logically, one cannot open a window as one writes. Unlike the other two verbs used with *as* in the paragraph, *view* and *gaze*, the verb *opened* depicts an action that is prior to and causative of the action in the main clause, *flashes*. It would appear that some combination of these factors made the shift to narrative action signaled by *as* take precedence over the present tense constraint previously established, perhaps because the constraint was established not with adverbials but with tense usage itself. The result was the anomalous *opened*.

Booth's (1963) notion of rhetorical stance helps clarify the issues involved with tense choice in contexts like this. He defines rhetorical stance as the maintenance of a balance among three elements: subject matter, audience, and authorial voice. If tense choices are understood to be determined by a time frame that involves the relationship between a writer at the moment of writing and the events or ideas to be written about, part of rhetorical stance involves what might be called *temporal stance*. Temporal stance is a balance between the writer, who remains at a fixed position, and the shifting time frames of the actions or states under discussion, a balance that determines tense choice.

The excerpt below from another student's journal illustrates tense use that appears to be more a matter of temporal, or rhetorical, stance than a rule application or misapplication.

> (2) I have to study physic tonight and math too. It will wear me out if I don't eat and have to study, especially study physic. This class took me a lot of time and energy. Sometime it took me 3 hours to read it and then come up with nothing. I know I am not good at physic but I like to study it.

The student explained that she used *took* because the studying was in the past. Her logic cannot be denied. Strictly speaking, the action conveyed by *took* is prior to that of the other verbs in the passage, all of which refer to states that are ture at the moment of writing. Yet past tense does not work because the student means to generalize, to indicate usual occurences that have direct relevance to her thoughts as she writes. The notion of temporal stance is applicable here because her choice of verb form should depend not on the time of the actions, but on her relationship to them now, as she writes. She needs a tense that will enable her to indicate the continuing importance of the events. After discussion with the instructor she decided to use *takes* in the third sentence and *has taken* in the fourth.

The journal entry at (3) from the same student provides further illustration of the connection between a writer's stance and tense choice. During the conference, which was focused on issues of tense and form, when the teacher suggested that the passage had verb problems, the student read through it and changed all but the last present tense forms to past tense without explanation. But the difference in subject matter between the sentences where she uses past tense, sentence #1 and the last two sentences, and the others, in which she consistently used present or future tense, provides a basis for speculation about her shifting temporal stance.

> (3) I woke up very late this morning. Almost to 7:30. I have a test today at 8:30 but I have to leave at 8 o'clock in order to get there on time for my test. I only have 30 minutes to wash my face, get dress, curl my hair and including make up. I know I will be late but I can't do anything else. I will run though. Last night I stayed up so late until 2 o'clock. I went to bed only for 5 and 1/2 hours which is 3 hours shorter than what I usually sleep during a high school day.

The student begins with past tense—waking up must be a completed event—and uses it again later for prior events that explain why she woke up late. But the purpose of the present tense sentences in between is less reporting than anticipating, which she does as if it were current at the moment of writing. The shift is marked by the verbless sentence fragment, *Almost to 7:30*. From then on the reader is back with her, worrying about getting to class on time. One way of describing these problems is as an inappropriate shift in stance between sentence #1, which looks backward to report what has already happened, and sentences #3-6, where the writer takes up a position within the events being discussed and anticipates what has to be done before the 8:30 exam.

In the closing sentence, which she did not correct, the student makes a similar backward shift in stance by using present tense for a completed situation, but this time she had an explicit rule to cite as justification. She considered *sleep* to be correct because it referred to a habit. That is, a present tense constraint associated with *usually*, which precedes the verb, took precedence over the more relevant, *during a high school day*, which comes after it.

The passage illustrates two different sources of verb tense errors. In the first set of problems, sentences #3-6, the lexical content of the verbs seems to take precedence over contextual meaning, and the verbs that convey the urgency of the situation after she overslept are in present and future tense. The result is an inappropriate shift in temporal stance to the action itself, away from the constraints or continuity of the written text. A similar shift was apparent in the use of *took* in example (2). But in the last sentence, a rule takes precedence over contextual meaning. Like the student who wrote passage (1), this writer chose tense on a sentence-by-sentence, or clause-by-clause, basis without regard to consistency of temporal stance. In all these instances the problem is that either the event or the rule, but not the writer, is in control.

In both types of error, the correct form, the tense that would convey meaning clearly to an audience, requires a balancing of lexical content (subject matter) with verb tense (the temporal relationship of the speaker to the subject matter). In other words, the correct tense choice depends upon the writer's temporal stance in relationship to the actions discussed.

The primary implication of these apparent connections between rhetorical context and tense use is that as diagnosticians analyzing student errors and as teachers preparing lessons, we need to look at how verb forms and tenses, correct and incorrect, function rhetorically. This perspective can enhance teachers' understanding of students' errors, and can help students understand why their use of rules sometimes leads to errors.

Readers' Perceptions of Tense Choice

In addition to verb errors, ESL students' writing is frequently marked by tense use that although not incorrect, is difficult for readers to comprehend. Consider this example of student writing:

> (4) The most complicated problem that people face is poverty. Economists from all over the world had spent a lot of their time to find its causes. Using all that advanced technology has given they could give only the percentage of increase or decrease of poverty in the world.

Tense is formed correctly in individual sentences, but the reader is left with unanswered questions. For example, in the first sentence, does the writer mean always, general truth? What is indicated by the verb *had spent*? Before what? In other words, the use of tense creates ambiguity.

To account for well-formedness of tense in discourse, Chafe (1972:50) posits a rule that states that a temporal adverbial, present at the beginning of discourse, causes the verbs that follow to acquire a particular tense, up to the point where another time adverbial introduces a different tense.

Generic verbs, which introduce general, timeless statements, are immune to the constraint initiated by the adverbial.

Example (5) illustrates this concept. In the first sentence the adverbial *last year* initiates the constraint labeled past. Other than the generic verb, *like*, in sentence #1, this constraint is maintained until the adverbial *next year* initiates the future.

(5) I had a good time camping last year because I like outdoor activities. I went to the mountains and stayed there for three days. I walked and rested and didn't talk to anyone. I will go again next year.

Godfrey (1980:94) modifies Chafe's rule in order to "more precisely characterize the initiation of the constraint." He contends that the first use of a tense, not a temporal adverbial, initiates a tense constraint. A new topic causes the temporary constraint to disappear and initiates a new one, a new tense. He further argues that "the occurence of a time adverbial is no more than a signal that heightens the salience of the temporal reference initiated in a constraint" (1980:95), implying that example (6) is also well formed with respect to tense.

(6) I had a good time camping because I like outdoor activities. I went to the mountains and stayed there for three days. I walked and rested and didn't talk to anyone. I will go again.

However, one could question whether this example conforms to the conventions of formal writing. That is, does the text stand on its own? The reader has to rely on extra-linguistic information to interpret tense. The absence of an adverbial in the first and last sentences, along with the tense switch at the end, produces ambiguity. Thus, it seems that Godfrey represents tense use in conversation or informal writing but not in formal writing.

For analysis of ESL writers' tense problems, both Godfrey's and Chafe's representations of tense use are problematic because neither distinguishes between spoken and written discourse. Therefore, in the context of formal writing, the following questions remain. What do readers need in order to interpret tense? What accounts for well-formedness of tense?

Design of study. The use of adverbials and tense was examined in introductory paragraphs of research papers written by native speaking graduate students in fields of history, political science, medicine, and agriculture. Three samples that did not conform to Chafe's description of tense use in discourse were selected for the study. Each of the three samples was revised in two ways. In one revision, a tense constraint was initiated by a temporal adverbial in the first sentence; this constraint was maintained throughout the text. In other words, the text was written in one tense, except for generic verbs that introduced timeless statements. The other revision conformed to Chafe's description. (Sample original and revisions are included as an appendix.)

Native speakers were asked to read three versions of one text (the original and two revisions) and rank them with respect to *clarity*, which was not defined but was assumed to elicit judgments of comprehensibility. Furthermore, it was assumed that the term would elicit judgments about semantic not grammatical relations. The readers were also asked to comment, if possible, on why they had ranked the texts as they had.

There were 20 readers per text, 60 total. For each text, the readers were approximately 25 per cent ESL instructors, 25 per cent English (non-ESL) instructors, 25 per cent instructors of subjects other than English, and 25 per cent noninstructors with education above the bachelor's degree level. The greater proportion of instructors to noninstructors was intentional because readers' needs and expectations for academic written discourse were being investigated.

The hypothesis was that native speakers would find the Chafe version to be the clearest, the most comprehensible, due to the explicit semantic references for the tense forms, and that tense-adverbial relations would have very low saliency.

The readers' rankings are summarized in Table 1. Most readers did, in fact, rank the Chafe version as being the clearest. Only three chose the original and two of them had read it last. Only English teachers chose the version written in one tense. Their comments reflect their preference for a single tense per paragraph. Several remarked that tense use in the other two versions violates "the rule that one paragraph should have one tense."

Table 1
Texts Ranked Highest for Clarity

	Text A N=20	Text B N=20	Text C N=20
Version 1 (original)	0%	5%	10%
Version 2 (one tense)	10%	5%	5%
Version 3 (Chafe)	90%	90%	85%

The comments about the reasons for ranking are varied but can be classified into three groups: comments that paraphrase and elaborate *clarity*, comments on form other than tense, and finally comments on tense, adverbials, and time relations. Representative examples from each category are found in Table 2. Although the readers commented on a number of features, it should be kept in mind that only changes in tense and adverbials were made to the original. In accordance with the hypothesis, only 20 per cent, all of them English teachers, commented on the presence or absence of adverbials. One remarked, "*Since then* makes it clear what the writer means by *have had*."

Conclusions. When reading samples of academic writing, these readers needed adverbial specification to interpret tense forms. Without specification, they found tense to be confusing, ambiguous, and disturbing. When the pattern of adverbials and tense conformed to Chafe's framework, they found the text to be cohesive and comprehensible.

Table 2

Representative Comments from Readers

I. Comments on *clarity* — paraphrase and elaboration: 80 per cent (N=60)

"The text is more lucid." "More logical." "Conclusion seems more accurate in relation to content."

Twenty-five per cent of these readers use the word *cohesive* in their remarks. One reader (non-English instructor) even comments that the original is "full of incipient jargon," whereas the Chafe version is "cohesive, logical, no jargon."

II. Comments on form: 15 per center (N=60)

These range from "shorter more concise sentences helped me get through the topic" to "punctuation is more accurate" (in the Chafe version). Only one of these readers is an English teacher.

III. Comments on tense, adverbials, time: 80 per cent (N=60)

"The time relationships are clearer—somehow." "The wanton mingling of past, present perfect, present was disorienting." "The use of tense is confusing, when? since when? or is the writer trying to generalize?" "The second version jumps around." "The time reference is confusing."

ESL Writers Problems

This research helps clarify what can go wrong with verb tense in ESL students' writing. For example, when ESL writers seem to shift tense at random, it may be only the absence of temporal adverbials that makes their tense choices seem arbitrary. In other words, it is not the tense shifts that produce ambiguity but the lack of temporal adverbials. Furthermore, even when a tense is correct, the absence of time adverbials may result in a texts' being incohesive overall.

We can help ESL students with verb tense in their writing by making them aware of the relationships between and constraints on adverbials and tense in written discourse. However, it would be misguided merely to teach them Chafe's or Godfrey's rule. We cannot assume that what they lack is a rule or what they need are structures, semantic or grammatical. In fact, in order to decide how to help students with tense problems, we first have to examine what they do when they write.

Flower and Hayes (1980:31) have pointed out that all writers develop strategies to deal with the composing process, which they describe as "the act of juggling a number of simultaneous constraints." ESL writers often adopt self-defeating strategies to manage composing in a foreign language, and these ineffective strategies are frequently the source of their tense problems.

One such strategy is to write for themselves instead of for a reader. For instance, the student writer of example (4) explained in conference that he meant poverty is the most complicated problem "nowadays." In other words, at some level he was aware of the constraints on and the relationship between the adverbial and tense, but while he was composing he either consciously or unconsciously assumed that the reader would know what he meant. As ESL teachers we can help students by asking them to write their papers in drafts. We can recognize that students will often write a first draft with the purpose of finding out what they want to do and say in the paper. In a revision stage we can ask them to transform this "writer-based prose" to "reader-based prose" (Flower 1979). Before asking them to revise their own tense use, we can ask them to read and react to passages with adverbials removed. We can ask them to respond to each other's writing with respect to tense and clarity. Finally, we can ask them to become readers of their own writing and revise it with readers' needs in mind.

Another strategy that ESL students use is to set high priorities on low-order correctness. For example, from the time they set pen to paper they worry inordinately about spelling or verb form. As teachers, we need to help them see that if they pour so much energy into the form of the past tense or the spelling of each word, they may produce correct sentences that do not cohere, correct verb forms that do not accurately reflect what they want to do or say in their writing. We need to teach them to save these concerns for their final draft. We need to teach them to edit, to pick out the verbs in their sentences and check them for form, but only after they have something to edit.

A third strategy that ESL writers use is to search for contextless rules and formulas that will produce a correct answer. They try to find or discover the one rule for past tense, a rule that does not depend on meaning, purpose, audience, or the growing text itself for its implementation. We can help students by not providing them with contextless explanations for tense meaning, explanations that ignore considerations of audience, purpose, and the text itself. Furthermore, as they revise writer-based drafts, we can help them decide whether specific rules or formulas can be used as tools to transform their writing to meet readers' needs.

When we worry about ESL students' tense in writing, we should remember that students' tense problems do not always emerge because they do not know enough English or they do not know English well enough. They emerge because the student who is overwhelmed by the task of writing in a foreign language will concentrate on the wrong things at the wrong times. We need to teach these students to manage the composing process; we need to teach them not only how English works, but also how good writers work.

Materials Development

The connections drawn here between verb tense use and discourse constraints lead inevitably to the recommendation that the best materials for teaching verb tense are drafts of the students' own writing. Nevertheless, teacher or textbook developed exercises can be useful for providing examples of native-speaker tense use and opportunities for practice in form. It is important, however, to recognize that these kinds of exercises are mainly providing practice in form, not practice in tense use, and it is advisable to use them always within an on-going discussion of what verb tenses convey to readers. In the light of these qualifications, the following guidelines for exercises are offered.

1. Avoid single sentence exercises. These not only fail to provide practice with verbs in a discourse context, but also lead students to think that tense choices can be made on a sentence-by-sentence or even clause-by-clause basis.
2. Use paragraph-length excerpts from authentic discourse. Students can discuss tense use and tense shifts in given paragraphs and can analyze differences in meaning between two versions of a passage with different tenses or adverbials. Such contrasts are particularly useful for illustrating the use of the present perfect within a present tense context (Moy 1977) and the use of the past perfect to clarify sequence of events. Abraham (1981) provides numerous other suggestions for collecting and using material in the classroom.
3. Provide a meaningful context for tense transformation exercises. These exercises can provide valuable practice in using correct forms and spotting finite verbs in discourse, a useful editing skill. However, since performing these transformations has little connection with authentic writing tasks, it is important to discuss how temporal stance changes when the verb tense changes and how adverbials could be used to clarify this stance for a reader.
4. Be wary of prescriptions of one tense per paragraph. Some textbooks are suggesting that using only one tense per paragraph keeps point of view consistent. Such discourse is often artificial and certainly misleading about how tense is actually used in expository writing. Students infer that changing tenses is "against the rules."
5. Use modified cloze exercises (with verbs deleted) only tentatively. These exercises are the most useful when students work in collaborative groups so that they can explore their answers' effects on meaning and cohesion rather than work to find a single correct answer. When more than one tense is correct or grammatical in a given slot, students can explore the effect of adverbs on clarity.

Ultimately, the crucial pedagogical issue is not the use of one type of exercise over another, but the way in which the meaning of tenses is explained so that students can use them effectively, not to fill in a blank in someone else's thoughts but to express their own thoughts clearly to someone else.

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Appendix

Sample Text — Research on Readers' Judgments of Clarity

Version 1: Original, as written by native-speaking graduate student

Despite the volatile nature of Chinese internal politics, Africa has long been an important facet in Peking's world strategy for several reasons. As a center of colonial imperialism and of liberation struggle, Africa presented an ideal outlet for Maoist revolutionary ideology. The superficial similarities between the Chinese revolutionary experience and conditions in Africa have inspired early attempts to set the PRC up as a development model for African nations. The continent's strategically important location prompted Chinese leaders to seek influence there, not only for geo-political purposes but also because of the opportunities for non-official contact with the capitalist countries. For various reasons—the Vietnam War in particular—the attention of the super-powers was diverted from Africa and the Chinese have attempted to exploit this opportunity for political influence. Finally, Africa has represented an important source of raw materials, such as copper, which would be useful in China's own development effort. While Peking's motives toward the region as a whole underwent a variety of shifts, the Chinese focus on Africa can be traced to varying combinations of the factors cited above.

Version 2: One tense

Despite the volatile nature of Chinese internal politics, Africa has long been an important facet of Peking's world strategy for several reasons. As a center of colonial imperialism and of liberation struggle, Africa has presented an ideal outlet for

Maoist revolutionary ideology. The superficial similarities between the Chinese revolutionary experience and conditions in Africa have inspired early attempts to set the PRC up as a development model for African nations. The continent's strategically important location has prompted Chinese leaders to seek influence there not only for geo-political purposes but also because of the opportunities for non-official contact with the capitalist countries. For various reasons—the Vietnam War in particular—the attention of the super-powers has been diverted from Africa and the Chinese have attempted to exploit this opportunity for political influence. Finally, Africa has represented an important source of raw materials, such as copper, which would be useful in China's own development effort. While Peking's motives toward the region as a whole have undergone a variety of shifts, the Chinese focus on Africa since 1949 can be traced to varying combinations of the factors cited above.

Version 3: Conforming to Chafe's (1972) description

Despite the volatile nature of Chinese internal politics, Africa has long been an important facet in Peking's World strategy for several reasons. As a center, first of colonial imperialism and later of liberation struggle, Africa presented an ideal outlet for Maoist revolutionary ideology. The superficial similarities between the Chinese revolutionary experience and conditions in Africa inspired early attempts to set the PRC up as a development model for African nations. The continent's strategically important location prompted Chinese leaders to seek influence there, not only for geo-political purposes but also because of the opportunities for non-official contact with the capitalist countries. For various reasons—the Vietnam War in particular—the attention of the super-powers was diverted from Africa and the Chinese attempted to exploit this opportunity for political influence. Finally, Africa represented an important source of raw materials, such as copper, which would be useful in China's own development effort. While Peking's motives toward the region as a whole have undergone a variety of shifts since 1949, the Chinese focus on Africa can be traced to varying combinations of the factors cited above.

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A Lexical Approach to Passive in ESL

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Introduction

Even before the advent of transformational generative grammar, the passive was commonly taught as a series of steps to change active sentences to their corresponding passive forms. This is still the typical approach in the ESL classroom: students learn a set of rules for transforming active sentences to passives.

Psycholinguistic studies suggest, however, that the passive transformation is not psychologically real. Slobin (1966) showed that there was little difference in difficulty between certain types of passive and active sentences. Recent studies such as Dewart (1979) and Wilson (1979) have shown that the frequency of generation of passive sentences is affected by whether the associated NP's are animate or not.

Lexical-functional grammar, as developed by Joan Bresnan, suggests a new way of analyzing passive sentences, a way that may have greater psychological validity. Basically, in this approach, a passive verb form is listed in the lexicon along with the active form, with the two forms differing in the phrase structure they fit into, and in the thematic roles of the associated subject and objects.

Lexical-functional grammar implies a revision in the way we present and practice the passive in an ESL classroom. More attention must be paid to the semantics of the subject and objects, and to the tendency of certain verbs to occur in the passive, and we should stop teaching the derivation of passive forms from actives.

This paper developed out of my dissatisfaction with the standard approach to passive voice sentences in the ESL classroom. I believe that what we typically have done is to treat passive sentences as the output of a transformation from corresponding active sentences. Teaching students how to transform active sentences into passives does not give them the necessary facility in using passives, however. In this paper, I will consider a different linguistic basis for teaching passives, that is, the framework of lexical-functional grammar, developed by Joan Bresnan.

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Traditional Teaching of Passive as a Transformation

Any sampling of ESL grammar texts reveals that the majority of the exercises and drills ask the students to transform active sentences to passives. Typically, students are given instructions on how to make the change, and they are then given a set of active sentences, and are told to produce their passive equivalents. With luck, the sentences might be connected, or about a particular topic, and there might even be some instruction about when the use of passive is appropriate, but it is relatively rare to find any of these extras.

Typical of this transformational approach to the teaching of passive are such texts and workbooks as Marcella Frank's 1972 *Modern English* workbooks, Polly Davis's 1977 *English Structure in Focus*, William Rutherford's 1975 revision of *Modern English*, and Betty Azar's 1981 *Understanding and Using English Grammar*. Each of these has several exercises with directions such as "Change the sentences from the active to the passive," or "Rewrite each sentence in the passive." ESL teachers have seen more than their share of such drills. Such materials seem to be based on the assumption that, in order to produce a passive sentence correctly, the student should start with an underlying active sentence, and follow a sequence of steps to change or transform it into a passive.

The Psychological Reality of the Passive

There is a fair amount of evidence from psycholinguistics that native speakers of English do not, in fact, actively make use of a passive transformation in passive sentences. Slkobin (1966) showed that while one type of passive took longer to understand than equivalent active sentences, the other type significantly took no longer. That is, passive sentences in which either NP could logically be the semantic agent, so-called reversible passives, as in (1),

1. The boy was pushed by the girl.

were more difficult to process than so-called non-reversible passives, in which only one of the NP's could logically be the agent of the particular verb, as in (2):

2. The flowers were watered by the girl.

What is significant here, however, is Slobin's finding that the non-reversible passives were understood just as rapidly as corresponding active sentences. There was no evidence of any extra processing time that would be associated with the use of an additional transformation. This may be seen as evidence against any mental use of a passive transformation.

Olson and Filby (1972) also demonstrated that passives did not necessarily show the extra processing complexity that would be predicted by a theory in which they are derived mentally from active sentences. Olson and Filby varied the nature of the given information in their experimental task, and they found that when the semantic agent was the given or old information, active sentences were processed faster than passives, but when the logical object was the given information, then passive sentences were processed faster than actives. This result argues against any psycholinguistic theory that derives passives from actives.

Fodor, Bever, and Garret (1974:368) summed up a decade of research, saying.

> Experimental investigations of the psychological reality of grammatical rules, derivations, and operations—in particular, investigations of the DTC (i.e., the derivational theory of complexity—F.M.)—have generally proved equivocal. This argues against the occurrence of grammatical derivations in the computations involved in sentence regognition and hence against a concrete employment of the grammar by the sentence recognizer.

Thus, it seems that transformations have very little claim to psychological reality—that is, they do not reflect what goes on in the heads of language users. If this is so, I think we should be more cautious about using transformational-type exercises so widely in teaching passive in our ESL classes. Many of us know from personal experience that students can become reasonably adept at changing active sentences to passive, without showing any equivalent ability to produce passives spontaneously in their oral or written use of English.

Given that the theoretical foundations of teaching passive by transforming active sentences to passives are so weak, is there an alternative approach that might be more useful? I think such an approach may be found in the application of some of the concepts of lexical-functional grammar, as developed by Joan Bresnan at MIT.

Lexical-Functional Grammar

In a series of papers in recent years (Bresnan 1978, 1980, Kaplan and Bresnan 1980), Bresnan has argued for major changes in the generative grammar of English. Essentially, her proposed revisions involve a greatly reduced transformational component, and a correspondingly elaborated lexicon. Thus, she dispenses with transformations such as passive or *there*-insertion, raising or equi-NP deletion. Instead, in lexical-functional grammar there are lexical entries for *there* and passive participles, as well as for regular nouns, verbs, etc. There is also a formal system that establishes the necessary identity between the logical predicate arguments of a verb and the surface grammatical functions of NP's associated with it. (I should note here that the "functional" in "lexical-functional" refers to formal syntactic function, and is not the same as the "functional" of "notional-functional syllabus.") The lexicon of a lexical-functional grammar, then, contains entries for both *eat* and *eaten*, related by the lexical passive rule, in (3):

3. Lexical Passive Rule:
Functional Change: (SUBJ) → Ø (BY OBJ)
(OBJ) → (SUBJ)
Morphological Change: V → ^{V}[Part]

This says that an active verb entry will have a passive counterpart entry of the passive participle, and in the passive entry the syntactic functions of associated NP's will be predictably different. The entry for active *eat*, for example, may be in part as shown in (4):

4. eat, V, ((SUBJ), (OBJ))

This says that *eat* occurs under a V node in a phrase structure tree, and that its two predicate arguments, AGENT (the eater) and THEME (the eaten thing) are assigned the grammatical functions of subject and object, respectively (Bresnan 1980:27). The passive rule says that there are also the lexical forms shown as (5) and (6):

5. eaten, ^{V}[Part], ((BY OBJ), (SUBJ))

6. eaten, ^{V}[Part], (Ø (SUBJ))

That is, *eaten* has the AGENT expressed as the object of the preposition *by* or not expressed at all, and the THEME is expressed by the subject. Bresnan (1980) and Kaplan and Bresnan (1980) show in detail how these lexical entries work in a formal system to give the illusion of NP's being moved by a passive transformation, or raised or deleted by rules such as Raising or Equi. In other words, they satisfactorily demonstrate that a lexical-functional grammar can handle all the phenomena that have been cited as evidence in favor of a syntactic passive transformation. I won't go into the details of the formalism here, but will refer the interested reader to Bresnan's forthcoming book, *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*, or any of the papers already mentioned. What is important here is that the essence of Bresnan's theory, as it deals with passive sentences, claims that both active and passive sentences are base-generated, and both active and passive verb forms occur in the lexicon. Basically, Bresnan's proposal is consonant with evidence that the brain has short-term memory limitations that would make it difficult to run through a long syntactic derivation, but that it is a relatively efficient storage and retrieval mechanism, making it capable of handling a large and intricate lexicon.

One task the speaker faces in sentence production is that of choosing the appropriate structure to express his intent, given various constraints. Among these constraints are those at the discourse level. If, for example, the conceptual focus is on the logical object of a verb that a speaker needs to describe a certain event, a passive sentence is much more likely to be produced, according to Tannenbaum and Williams (1968). Such a result is easily captured in Bresnan's model, since the passive lexical entry will be the one in which the theme, or logical object, is expressed by the surface structure subject, which can be taken to be the normal position for the item in conceptual focus. Notice that this lexical approach to passive correctly predicts that when the discourse focuses on the logical object of a particular verb, passive sentences should be produced as rapidly as actives, since there is a lexical item (the passive participle) that is just as available and accessable as the active form of the verb. The transformational model of production, on the other hand, implies that the same amount of extra time should be needed in any case for the generation of passives, since an extra transformation has to be applied.

Dewart (1979) and Wilson (1979) have shown that animacy causes a similar effect, so that there is a tendency for animate nouns to be positioned as surface subjects, which in some cases leads to the production of passive sentences. This, too, can be captured more easily in a lexical-functional than in a standard transformational account.

Classroom Presentation of Passive

It has been said that "there is nothing so practical as a good theory." If Bresnan's theory of a non-transformational origin of passive sentences is reasonable, both from the linguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives, what practical use can be made of it? Certainly we do not know exactly how the mental grammar comes to be organized in a certain way, but we must proceed on the not unreasonable assumption that the organization of our presentation and lessons in the classroom can aid in making learning more efficient.

Certainly the first implication of a lexical approach to passive is that we should avoid drills in which students mechanically change active sentences into their passive counterparts. We have seen, however, that such drills, along with a set of rules for making the change, form the bulk of current materials for teaching passive to ESL students.

But what is the alternative to a transformational approach? Since Bresnan's theory sees the essence of passive as a change in the grammatical function assignments of a verb's predicate arguments, I suggest that the teaching should, in some way, focus on this point. First, some brief comprehension passages could be given to point out the relevant differences between actives and passives. (I assume, of course, that in a well-organized curriculum, ESL students will already have been exposed to passive sentences in their reading, at least, and that the relevant characteristics will have been pointed out to them.) These comprehension exercises, then will serve primarily to review and focus attention on the structure. Examples might be (7) and (8):

7. Mary saw a ball on the grass, so she kicked it.
    a. Who did something to the ball?
    b. Did the ball act, or did it receive an action?

8. Look at this! This baseball came flying out of Yankee Stadium. It was hit by Reggie Jackson.
    a. Who did something to the ball?

The teacher would also compare the verb forms and the positions and functions of the nouns. Of course, reversible examples should also be given, such as (9):

9. Come quickly! There's been a bad accident. My truck was hit by a car.
    a. What was hit.
    b. Which was moving, the truck or the car?

These reversible passives may serve as the test cases to check that the students have understood the point of the lesson.

When it comes to teaching the production of the passive, rather than just the meaning, there is a real difference under this approach, however. First, both active and passive lexical forms should be taught, in whatever manner students are taught vocabulary. Even before the passive is formally taught for production purposes, some verbs that are frequently used in the passive, such as *be made of*, can be taught as separate lexical items, much as we teach idioms. Then, in the initial teaching of passive for production, a verb like *arrest*, for example, could be taught as a verb that takes a law enforcement officer, such as a policeman, as subject, and a lawbreaker as object, while *be arrested* takes a lawbreaker, such as a thief, as subject, and may have a noun like *policeman* in a prepositional phrase with *by*. After several such examples are presented with verbs that are already familiar to students in their active forms, students should be asked to make the appropriate generalizations about the form of the verbs, and the grammatical function of "do-er's" and "receivers of action" in active and passive sentences.

An exercise that might be useful at this point is one in which students choose, or think up, appropriate nouns to complete sentences, such as (10) - (12):

10. The $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{lifeguard}\\ \text{swimmer}\end{matrix}\right\}$ was rescued.

11. $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{The boy}\\ \text{banana}\end{matrix}\right\}$ ate at noon.

12. (*The bank*) was robbed at 11:30 this morning. (*Two men*) took $6000, but one of them was arrested by (*the police*) an hour later.

Rutherford's *Modern English* (1975:31Off) has a useful exercise for getting students to focus on whether the verb form and functional structure have been used appropriately. Sentences are given such as (13) and (14):

13. An accident was reported yesterday in the paper.

14. The accident was happened on Sunday at about 3:00.

Students are asked to judge whether they are acceptable or not—that is, whether the grammatical functions of the predicate arguments and the morphological form of the verb are in agreement.

The type of production drill that would be appropriate under a lexically-based theory would be the production of sentences in which the subject and the base form of the verb are given, and students have to decide whether to make an active or passive sentence. For example, given the words "house-build-wood", students should create sentences like "My house is built of wood", while if they are given "carpenter-build-house", they can say something like "The carpenter built a house."

At a simpler level, students might be shown picture cues of an old and a new house, with the dates 1820 and 1970 given. They would then be expected to produce sentences like those in (15):

15. a. This house was built in 1820.
    b. That one was built in 1970.

Similarly, with pictures of mail: appropriate picture cues could trigger the sentences in (16):

16. a. This letter was written in Chinese.
    b. That one was written in Spanish.

Of course, sentences should be contextualized as much as possible. In this way, it may be possible to constrain the subject by the discourse, and cue with only the verb. This would be a much closer approximation to the actual situation in which passives are naturally used, where some element of the discourse calls for a certain subject that is logically the object of the verb that is used.

Implications of Formal Grammar

Having said all this, I hope I have not overstated my case. There are, I think, two potential problems with the proposal presented so far. The first and major problem is, perhaps, inherent in any attempt to apply ideas from theoretical linguistics to our pedagogic problems, especially in the area of grammar. It is unclear what, if any, pedagogic implications are to be drawn from formal grammars. Despite the claims that have been made, there is reason to doubt that any formal generative grammar developed so far is psychologically real. Furthermore, even if it does manage to be a psychologically real description, a grammar describes the end result in the heads of native speakers. It does not make claims about how this state was achieved, and the connection between the grammar and the process of second language acquisition may be far from a direct one.

The second objection that might be raised is the question of efficiency: given that we have a limited amount of classroom time, and given that passive formation is such a productive process in English, we can save a lot of time by presenting it as a rule rather than by teaching it through isolated lexical forms. Basically I agree with this, and I believe that some generalizations can and should be drawn to help students see and remember what is going on in passive sentences. But I would still return to my initial dissatisfaction with the way we have been going about teaching passive. When they are writing, or especially when they are speaking English, our students generally will not have time to, or won't remember to go through the steps to transform an active sentence into a passive. Instead, they will fall back on what they know, so in order to insure that they really know passive forms, we have to give them more practice with passive verbs, practice in choosing the appropriate subjects, objects, tenses, etc. This is really the essence of the lexical approach to passive.

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